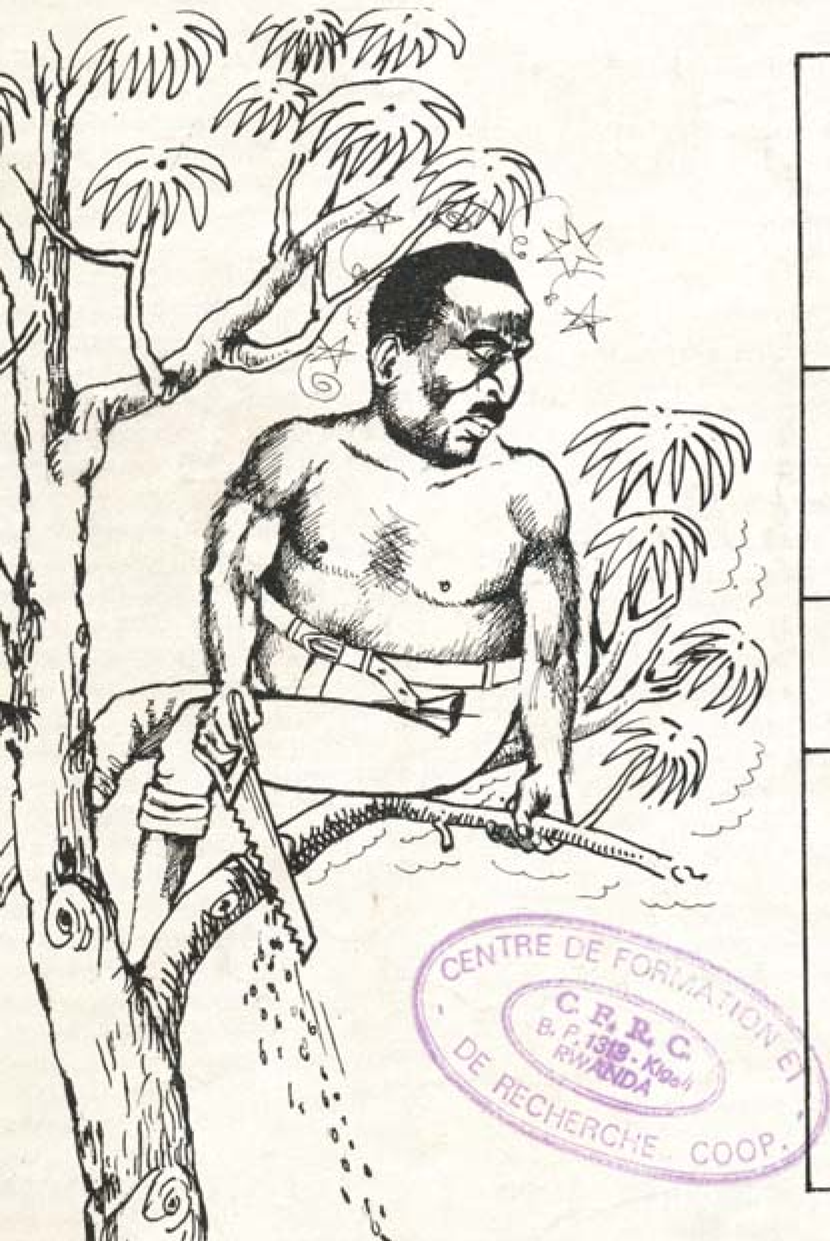
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IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO KURENGERA RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI.



GITERA ATI :
«UMUGOME NI UWO MUTUTSI UHORA YIKUZA»

—GOMN, umutwe w'abasirikari ushinzwe gukorera Inkotanyi

—HABYARIMANA yaba abitekerezaho iki ?

–Radiyo Rwanda igeze aho gutinya kuvuga ijambo «inyenzi» !

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ukuvuga ko ubu bitagishobotse ? Nyamara birashoboka cyane kuko ari nta gihe cya ngombwa cyo kuguma byanze bikunze ku butegetsi; kwegura biteganyijwe mu Itegeko–Nshinga no mu yandi mategeko. Ahubwo abambari be n'abandi bakungahajwe n'ingoma ye nibo bamugira inama yo gukomeza gutegeka kugira ngo babone uko bakomeza kwirira no kuzingitiranya amarorerwa baba barakoreye igihugu n'abagituye.

Hari abashobora kwitwaza ko tukiri mu ntambara, ko perezida atagomba guterenana abanyarwanda muri ako kaga. Nyamara ibyo ntacyo bivuze kuko atari we kamara, uwamusimbura yakomeza imirimo y'igihugu yose. None se ko intambara yo mu kwakira 1990 yarose ari hanze abasigaye ntibayoboye urugamba ? Ko inkotanyi zongeye gutera minisitiri Gasana w'ingabo ari Arusha byabujije se inzirabwoba gukora akazi kazo ? Abandi ngo twasubiranamo turwanira ubutegetsi. Kubera se iki kandi amategeko ateganya uko bigomba kugenda ? Erega umuntu avugwa cyangwa akomera ari uko akiri ku isonga y'ubutegetsi ! Na Habyarimana avuyeho ntawakongera kumwitaho, yaba umuturage nk'abandi. Ahubwo uwamusimbura niwe twahanga amaso. Ninde ugishyira mu majwi Nsekalije, Nzirorera n'ibindi bihangange byari byaramamajwe muri uru Rwanda ?

Abandi bati yeguye yaba atabye mu nama MRND ye ngo kuko yabura abayoboke. Cyereka niba nawe yari ahagarariye ishyaka ritagira imizi ihamye. Nyamara wenda niho ryarushaho kugira ingufu kuko riba ritakigendera ku muntu umwe. Hariho abarizibukira ariko abasigaye baba koko intarumikwa muri ryo. Bajye barebera kuri CDR; nta muntu n'uyu cyangwa ubutegetsi yishingikirijeho ariko uko iminsi ihita niko igenda itsinda ibitego. Ntiyaba abaye n'ikigwari mu kwanga kugira uwo bahangana muri uru ruhando rw'amashyaka menshi. Ahubwo yaba agaragaje ubutwari no kutikubira abererekeye n'abandi ku butegetsi bw'ikirenga.

Ariko se yapfa kugenda gusaaa, aho abamuhigaga bamugerekaho amahano atazi amavu n'amavuko ntibaba babonye urwaho rwo kumugirira nabi ? Biterwa n'uko aba nawe yateguye iyegura rye kandi ndibwira ko Leta ifite inshingano yo gushyiraho amategeko aboneye yo kurengera abahoze ari abakuru b'igihugu, nko kurinda umutekano wabo no kwita bihagije ku mibereho myiza yabo. Kandi nk'uko byavuzwe haruguru, ntawakongera kwibuka ko yategetse. Ubu se Nyerere, Senghor, Kaunda, Kérékou n'abandi bahoze ari abaperezida ntibamerewe neza ? Gusa ntituzi neza niba Habyarimana yaba yarateguye umuntu WE wo kumusimbura bibaye ngombwa cyangwa abyishakiye ubwe. Kuko nabwo igihe hashyirwaho uwo bafitanye inzigo y'injyanamuntu maze akamwihimuraho.

Kuki se akwiye kwegura ? Abanyarwanda n'igihugu cyose bahungukira iki ? Iryo ni ihurizo ryasubizwa ku buryo bunyuranye bitewe n'uko buri wese abyumva. Gusa abantu bagombye kwiyumvisha ko ntawavukanye imbuto yo gutegeka ubuziraherezo. Umuntu umwe nta n'icyo avuze imbere ya rubanda rwose. Ni nayo mpamvu twagombye twese kwamagana imyifatire y'ubugome buvanze n'ubwenge buke bw'abataye roho nka Kanyarengwe, Pasteur n'abandi biyemeza gukotana n'inyenzi ngo ni ukugira ngo bahirike Habyarimana. Aho gutsemba imbaga washaka uburyo bwose, kandi ntibubuze, bwo kwivugana wa wundi umwe ushaka. Yakunanira ukabyihorera byose. Ntiwaharanira n'inyungu z'akarere kawe — dore ngo ko nako kagezweho — ushyigikira inkoramaraso zo muri FPR nawe zitakurebera izuba.

Kuri Habyarimana hari impamvu nyinshi zatuma yegura. Ariko tubyumvikaneho, si ukuvuga ko ugereranije n'ahandi mu Rwanda ari nta kigenda. Ndetse ahubwo wabarira perezida wacu mu bategetsi bo muri Afurika bitwaye neza mu buyobozi bw'abo bashinzwe no muri ibi bihe by'amashyaka menshi. Icyakora nyine ntibigomba kuba intandaro y'ubukonde. Imyaka makumyabiri ku butegetsi irahagije. N'umuburugumesitiri cyangwa umuperefe iyo abumazeho igihe kirekire ageraho akarambirana. Ni no gusuzugura abenegihugu wagira ngo babuze undi muntu wabategeka. Haziramo n'umunaniro, gukundwakaza buri gihe agatsiko k'abantu bamwe gusa no kudatera imbere mu bitekerezo no mu mikorere.

Niba ari ugusaza cyangwa se ari ko asanzwe ateye ubona Jenerali atikangarira bihagije, adashimangira ingoma ye nk'uko bikwiye. Hari n'abakibaza ukuntu yatekereje gukora (cyangwa gukoresha) kudeta yavanyeho Kayibanda. Mu ntambara yerekanye ubwoba n'ikiniga (byagaragariraga mu mibonano yagiranaga n'abanyamahanga) no kudashikama ku byifuzo by'u Rwanda ukaba wagira ngo nirwo rwari mu makosa maze bigatiza inkotanyi umurindi. Yatinye kuvuga rugikubita ko twatewe n'ikindi gihugu aricyo Uganda; yihutira ahubwo kwemera ibyo FPR n'abayishyigikiye bifuza kandi yagombye kumenya neza ko bamuryarya.

Mu mashyaka menshi ho byabaye umwaku; yifashe neza imbere y'abamurwanya maze atera umugongo abayoboke be n'abandi batamutaranga nka bya byitso bya za nyenzi byamubujije amahwemo. Yivuguruza uko bwije n'uko bukeye ku buryo ari ntawe ukimwizera cyane.

Uyu munsi ati amasezerano yo kuwa 30/10/92 n'ayo kuwa 9/1/93 agomba gusubirwamo kuko ateye nabi; bwacya akayemera hatavungutseho n'inyuguti n'imwe ndetse agashaka ko hakwigwa vuba uburyo yashyirwa mu bikorwa. Ni akumiro ! Ibyo ba Kazimiri na Ngirumpatse batangaje uwo mutware bagitinya akabivugururiza mu bikorwa, abarwanashyaka be bakifata impungenge... Koko amahanga — agendera kuri poropagande y'ibinyoma y'inkotanyi — azamurisha n'uburozi ngo ni ukugira ngo ayashimishe ? Niba we abyemera imbaga nyamwinshi y'abanyarwanda yo ntibishyigikiye.

Zimwe mu nyungu zo kwegura kwa Habyarimana rero ni uko igihugu cyahumeka umwuka mushya. Ntawateganya neza uko uwo mwuka waba uteye by'ukuri, ariko waba udasanzwe. Abamurwanya ntibazaba bakibonye urundi rwitwazo rwo guteza imvururu n'akaduruvayo mu gihugu nk'uko amashyaka MDR, PSD na PL babigize ihame babyongorewe na FPR n'ibyitso byayo. Za mitingi zizabwira abaturage amatwara ya buri shyaka aho kwibanda gusa mu gutuka no gusebya Habyarimana. Radiyo Ndengejeho na bya binyabinyoma ngo ni ibinyamakuru bikoreshwa n'ibyitso by'inkotanyi ntibazongera kwiharanga ngo ni Jenerali ubangamiye amahoro, ubukungu n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage.

Na FPR–inyenzi–inkotanyi–tutsi ishyize mu gaciro yahita ihagarika intambara yashoje n'ubu kandi igikomezanya ubugizi bwa nabi butihishira. Ariko yo ni ukuyitondera kuko itarwanya umuntu ku giti cye, yaba Kayibanda, Habyarimana cyangwa Nsengiyaremye (uyu ishaka gushyira mu kwaha). FPR yo igamije guhirika ingoma yose y'umuhutu kugira ngo igarure ubutegetsi bwa Gatutsi n'ibibi byabwo byose nk'uko ibigaragariza muri iyi ntambara yoreka imbaga y'abahutu urw'agashinyaguro. Byari bikwiye no kubera isomo amashyaka yiha gufatanya n'uwo mwanzi. Ntabwo «machin-guns» zayo zitoranya amashyaka cyangwa uturere.

Amahanga nayo yakwakirana amaboko yombi umutware mushya kuko azaba akiri umuziranenge, mu gihe nawe bataramuharabika. Za mfashanyo yatekerezaga guhagarika ahubwo zizongerwa kugira ngo Leta igezweho nayo yirwarize.
Abanyaburayi na Amerika bazafasha u' Rwanda «rushya» kwumvisha za nyabusa z'inkotanyi igikwiye. Aho ho bizaba ari ukugosorera mu rucaca kuko intego yazo ari imwe rukumbi : gufata ubutegetsi bwose no kugira umuhutu ingaruzwamabombe zihereye kuri bariya bagambanyi bakorana nazo buhumyi.

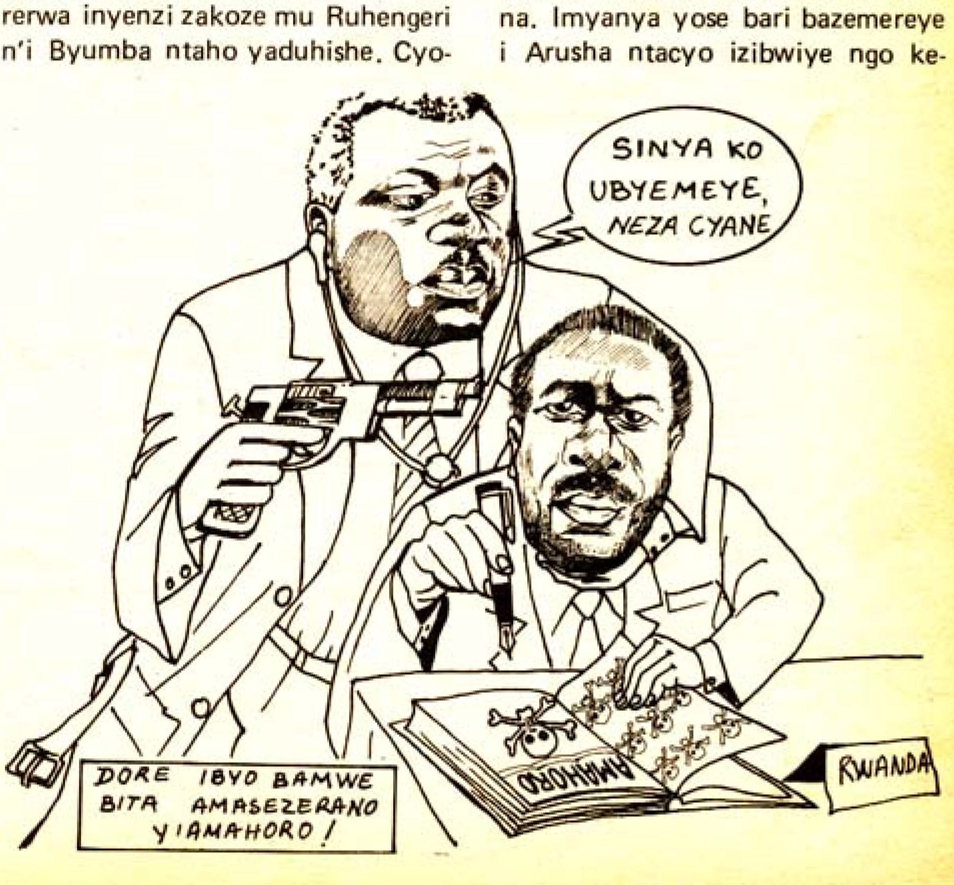
Hanyuma se yasimburwa nande? Ubusanzwe muri demokarasi twese duhoza ku rurimi ariko mu bikorwa tukayiniga amatora niyo kamarampaka nziza yo kwihitiramo abayobozi. Amashyaka yose yagombye noneho kuyemera kuko Habyarimana azaba yakuyemo ake karenge, bityo ntazaba akiyafifitse nk'uko babitinyaga. Yabanza ariko kwipakurura ubucuti amwe afitanye na cya cyago FPR kuko cyo kitifuza amatora na busa kandi ntawakirenganya kuko kitabona intebe mu Rwanda. Ayo matora yaba mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsi no mu bagize inteko y'abadepite. Twaba tunasezereye neza iyi rwaserera ya za guverinoma z'inzibacyuho itera impaka zitarangira n'ibibazo by'ingutu mu butegetsi no mu mibereho ya rubanda.

Ndekezi Bonaparte.

Arusha, Bujumbura, Dar-Es-Salaam.... nta muti nta rukingo.

Abumvishije amagambo Minisitiri w'Intebe, Dismasi Nsengiyaremye yatangaje avuye i Dar-Es-Salam tariki ya 7 Werurwe, ntibibujije gutangara. Ari nako bumiwe. Batangajwe n'ikinyoma cy'umukuru wa Guverinoma, wijeje abanyarwanda ko intambara irangiye. Abeshya abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara ko bagiye kubisubiramo vuba aha...
Nyamara ukuri kugaragaza ko imishyikirano Nsengiyaremye yagiranye na Kanyarengwe i Dar-Es-Salaam, ari amacenga n'uburyarya bwa FPR yagaragaje kuva i N'sele, Arusha, Bujumbura, kugera i Dar-Es-Salaam. Ubwo buryarya nibwo Nsengiyaremye akomeje kwita «amasezerano y'amahoro».

Ibijya gupfa bipfa kare. Inyenzi zigize gutya zirengagiza ibyari bigiye kugerwaho mu mishyikirano y'i Arusha, zigabye ibitero simusiga mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba. Impamvu FPR yatanze isobanura ibyibyo bitero ntituzitindaho. Amarorerwa inyenzi zakoze mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba ntaho yaduhishe. Cyokora yatweretse ko inyenzi zidakina. Imyanya yose bari bazemereye i Arusha ntacyo izibwiye ngo ke-



retse zihariye ubutegetsi zonyine. Museveni ntiyafashe Kampala, Okello yamwemereye umwanya wa visi-Perezida ? Mumbwire namwe ibyo turimo ngo turashyikirana n'inyenzi ?

Burya koko ibijya gupfa mu itangiriro. Ngizo za N'sele, Arusha (ibyiciro bine!), Bujumbura, Dar-Es-Salam... Aho hose ngo ni ugushaka amahoro. Ntitukamenye ko umwanzi we yifitiye indi migambi. Igiteye impungenge ni uko iyo mishyikirano yose igenda ivuguruzanya kandi ihuje abantu bamwe, FPR na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda. N'ibyo bemeranije inyenzi zikabirengaho. Nsengiyaremye rero arasetsa iyo avuga ngo impande zombi zimaze gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro i Dar-Es-Salaam. Nyamara twari tuzi ko inama zabereye i Bujumbura, Dar-Es-Salaam, ari ibiganiro atari imishyikirano. Ubwo rero bihindutse, imishyikirano, Arusha imaze iki ? Dore ko Nsengiyaremye yabaye nk'ubwira abanyarwanda ko intambara ayirangirije i Dar-Es-Salaam.

Nsengiyaremye agomba kuba atazi Museveni n'inkotanyi ze. I Dar-Es-Salaam bamweretse «balinnga» agirango intambara irahagaze. Urebye gahunda yafatiwe i Dar-Es-Salaam wakwibaza icyo guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yari itegereje ngo itange wa «muti» w'intambara yakangishaga abanyarwanda. Niba atari ubuswa yisanganiwe, veterineri Nsengiyaremye agomba kuba ari n'umutesi. Aranasetsa cyane!

Umuntu wemeza ko imirwano izahagarara tariki iyi n'iyi (ku wa kabiri tariki ya 9 Werurwe), isaha iyi n'iyi (saa sita z'ijoro) ngo ni uko inkotanyi zabimubwiye ! Ni ryari se zitatanze gahunda ntiziyubahirize? Inyenzi ntizeretse Nsengiyaremye aho zibera mbi zigaba igitero muri Nkumba ku wa mbere tariki 8 Werurwe ! Nawe ngo intambara izahagarara...

Inyenzi zategetse Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye kongera kurindagira mu mishyikirano i Arusha bitarenze tariki ya 15 Werurwe 1993. «Amasezerano» akaba agomba gushyirwaho umukono mu cyumweru cya mbere cy'ukwezi kwa kane. Gahunda yaturutse i Dar-Es-Salaam inatubwira ko «ingabo z'amahanga zigomba kuva mu Rwanda uretse iz'Abafaransa. Kanyarengwe wasinyiye i Bujumbura ko Abafaransa ari abanzi bagomba kwirukanwa mu gihugu cyacu «yemeye» noneho ko abo bafaransa bari mu rwego rw'ubutwererane buri hagati y'u Rwanda n'icyo gihugu. Abasagutse bakaba bacunga umutekano w'abanyamahanga. Aka kanya FPR ihinduye imvugo ? Yo yemezaga ko abo bafaransa barwana ku ruhande rw'ingabo z'u Rwanda ! Ntacyo ariko kuko ari u Rwanda ruhazamukira.

Uburyarya bwa FPR bukarira aho ibeshya ko inyenzi zateye tariki ya 8 Gashyantare zizata aho zafashe, «zikisubiza» mu birindiro zahozemo mbere. Ntawe uzakuye ! Izo mpuhwe...

Aho Nsengiyaremye aca agahigo mu gushinyagura ni aho yemeza ko abavanywe mu byabo n'iyi ntambara bazabisubiramo!!! Ngo azabashyira mu gace kazasigara hagati y'ingabo z'u Rwanda na FPR—Inkotanyi. Ako gace akanatwizeza ko kazaba kagenzwurwa n'ingabo z'amahanga (OUA) cyangwa za (ONU) nanone zidafite aho zibogamiye. Intambara ikarangira ityo. Sinjye wahera hahera Nsengiyaremye n'ubuswa bwe !

Nsengiyaremye acishije mu gaciro abona koko ko inkotanyi zahoze mbere ntawe uzakuye. Nizo se zitishimiye ko igihugu cyazo basigaye bita «inkotanyiland» cyakura ? Twemere da ko inkotanyi zisubije mu birindiro zahozemo mbere, izo ngabo z'amahanga bavuga zizava he ? Zizaza ryari ? Zizakora iki iza mbere zitakoze ?

Naho kuvuga ko abavanywe mu byabo n'iyi ntambara bazabisubizwamo ni ukwibeshya kuko hari amakomini menshi inkotanyi zari zifitemo ibirindiro mbere y'uko zubura imirwano muri Gashyantare. Cyeretse ahari zisubije ubwazo muri Uganda. Kandi gushyira abo bantu bangara hagati y'ingabo zishyamiranye ni nko kubaroha kuko nta mutekano bazigera bagira, bazahora baraswaho, inkotanyi zizakomeza kubiraramo zibice nk'uko bimeze ubu. Ntabwo rero ari ingabo z'amahanga zabakingira. Uretse ko zizaba ari na nkeya, nta n'ubwo zabishobora.

Ibihe turimo bisa n'ibyo ubutegetsi bwa Tito Okello bwarimo igihe Museveni yari hafi gucakira Kampala mu w'1986. Uwo musaza Okello, bamwijeje ibitangaza i Nairobi kugeza naho aharira Museveni umwanya wa visi-Perezida, ashiduka byarangiye akizwa n'amaguru. Na Habyarimana se nibyo ashaka ? Dore zageze i Tare, niba ari uhunga yafata utwangushye !

KANGURA.

UMWANA WA NGULINZIRA SI NK'ABANDI

Igihe za nkoramaraso z'inyenzi-inkotanyi zarasukiraga mu Ruhengeri ku bugambanyi bw'ibyitso byiganje mu Rwanda hose, abanyeshuri barenze magana arindwi bo ku Musanze bakwiye imishwaro. Ubu bose bari hanze uretse rero uwa Nyakubahwa Minisitiri Ngulinzira woherejwe na munywanyi we wo mw'ishyaka, Agata wamize isoni bunguri akarangwa n'ubugome burusha ubumara ubwa FPR - kwiga muri Lycée de Kigali.

Ni amahano kubona umwana wa Minisitiri muzima ariwe ugirirwa impuhwe nkaho ise abuze amafaranga yo kumurihira mu mashuri yigenga cyangwa mu y'amahanga. Iyo baha ako kanya umwana w'umukene nyakujya byo ahari byari kugira inzira. Ariko nabyo ntibyaba bihwitse kuko ikibazo kireba abo bana bose bakuwe mu mashuri n'inkotanyi. Agata na Ngulinzira baba ahubwo baritonze gato bakabonera urwo rubyiruko rwose umuti w'ibibazo rurimo aho gusebesha MINEPRISEC n'ubutegetsi bajumbururamo abana bamwe bamwe b'ibikomerezwa. Harya ngo MDR yaje irwanya akarengane n'uburyamirane ? Tuzabirebera ku myifatire no ku mikorere y'abambari bayo.... !

NY. P. /Etudiante au L.K.

UGANDA : MUSEVENI YARIYE INKA YA NYANGARA KUYISHYURA BIZAMUGORA.....

Kurya ni ukwishyura. Perezida wa Uganda, Yoweri Museveni yariye umwenda w'impunzi z'abatutsi none kuwishyura byamubereye ikibazo. Museveni afata ubutegetsi muri Uganda mu w'1986, yabifashijwemo cyane n'impunzi z'abatutsi bamurwaniye igihe kirekire. Nawe abizeza ko azabasubiza ubutegetsi bambuwe na revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959. Nyamara ubwo ntiyari azi ko akina mu bikomeye. Ntiyari azi ko izo mpunzi z'abatutsi zivuga zikomeje kandi ko n'ibyo yazemereye ko bidashoboka. Tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, Museveni nibwo yatangiye kwishyura inka ya Nyangara yariye. Afata igice kimwe cy'ingabo ze, n'ibikoresho agishumuriza u Rwanda. Na n'ubu...

Inkuru yabaye impamo.Ingabo za Uganda (NRA) zisigaye zirwana ku ruhande rw'inyenzi. Kuvuga ko ingabo za Uganda zifasha inyenzi ziziha ibikoresho bya gisirikari birasanzwe. Nta n'uwo byari bikwiye gutangaza. Ariko noneho ingabo za Uganda zisigaye ziza mu mirwano ku mugaragaro. Ukwivanga kwa NRA mu mirwano bizatuma intambara ihindura indi sura ndetse no mu rwego rwa politiki. Ingabo z'u Rwanda zigomba kongererwa abasirikari n'ibikoresho nk'uko umwanzi yabigenje. Muri politiki, u Rwanda rukumvisha amahanga ko Uganda ifite uruhare runini muri iyi ntambara. Kandi nta gitangaza kirimo kuko Uganda nta gihe itafashije inyenzi ziyise inkotanyi.

Inyenzi-nkotanyi zitera u Rwanda tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, Perezida wa Uganda, Yoweri Museveni na Perezida Habyarimana bombi bari muri Amerika. Bari bagiye mu nama yari yateguwe na UNICEF, rya shami ry'umuryango w'abibumbye ryita ku bana. Perezida Habyarimana agize ngo arabaza Museveni iby'icyo gitero, Museveni amusubiza ko nawe "cyamutunguye". Amwumvisha ko ari abasirikari "bamutorotse", bakiba n'intwaro. Nyamara Museveni nta kuntu atari azi iby'icyo gitero dore ko cyari kiyobowe n'inshuti ye y'amagara, Fred Rwigema ndetse na mwene nyina, Salim Saleh.

Hari amakuru yemeza ko Museveni yari mu bagiraga inama Fred Rwigema na bagenzi be. Rwigema yaba yarasabye Museveni inyeshyamba ibihumbi makumyabiri (ni ukuvuga "divisions" ebyiri) Museveni akamubwira ko "division" imwe (abasirikari ibihumbi icumi) bihagije. Museveni nyine yibwiraga ko u Rwanda nta basirikari rufite, ndetse ko nta n'intwaro dore ko yitaga ingabo z'u Rwanda "boys scouts", abagereranya n'abasikuti. Nyamara yari atarababona. Museveni ageze Entebbe avuye muri Amerika nibwo yivuyemo. Mu kiganiro yagiranye n'abanyamakuru, yemezaga ko inyenzi zizatsinda nta kabuza. Ngo abahungu be, ("my boys"), arabizeye bamenyereye intambara. Inyenzi zakubiswe inshuro, Museveni arababara cyane atangira no kuzitakana. Nibwo ahinduye imvugo, yemeza ko abadutera ari inyeshyamba zigometse ku butegetsi bwa Habyarimana. Ngo Uganda ntaho ihuriye n'iriya ntambara. Icyo kinyoma yakigejeje no mu nama y'abakuru b'igihugu by'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika iherutse kubera Abuja muri Nijeriya. Amaze gukorwa n'isoni, Museveni icyo gihe wari Perezida wa OUA, yavuze ko Perezida Habyarimana ngo atari akwiye kwita inyenzi "umwanzi" wateye aturutse muri Uganda. Ngo navuge ko ari abanyarwanda bigometse ku butegetsi bwe!

Nyamara ubwo ntiyari azi ko amahanga yarangije kumenya ukuri. Byaranagaragaye aho Abuja, aho abakuru b'ibihugu bigize umuryango wa OUA, barimo na Perezida wa Nijeriya Ibrahim Babangida wari umaze kumusimbura ku mwanya w'ubuyobozi bw'uwo muryango, bumvaga ibinyoma bya Museveni bakisekera. Kuba Museveni yarafashije inyenzi na n'ubu akizifasha, ni umwenda azirimo. Ntazagire rero uwo abeshya. Twatangiye tuvuga ko inyenzi zateye u Rwanda mu Kwakira 1990 ari zo zarwaniye Museveni, zimutereka ku butegetsi. Nawe azemerera ko azazifasha kugaruka mu Rwanda ku ngufu, zigategeka. Bityo byari no kumufasha cyane. Ntawe uyobewe ko muri Uganda, Museveni batamwemera. Dore ko akomoka mu bwoko bw'abatutsi b'abahima batagize na kimwe ku ijana cy'abanya Uganda. Nawe azi neza ko ari ku butegetsi ku ngufu z'imbunda. Yizeraga rero ko abatutsi bene wabo nibafata Kigali, azaba ategeka ibihugu bibiri, Uganda n'u Rwanda. Byamukomerana muri Uganda, agahungira i Kigali, aho bene wabo bari kumwakira nk'umubyeyi. Bakaba banongera kumufasha gusubira ku butegetsi. Bidashobotse se bakabuza icyo gihugu amahoro.

Ikindi abanyarwanda batagomba kwibagirwa ni uko Museveni ari inyeshyamba n'icyo bisobanura cyose. Inyeshyamba nta rukundo iba ifitiye igihugu. Icyo iba icunga, ni inyungu zayo gusa. Inyeshyamba kandi nta tegeko riyigenga dore ko nta n'iryo yubahiriza. Inyeshyamba ikanga icyitwa amahoro yose, ihora yifuza ko intambara yarota. Mu myaka irindwi rero Museveni amaze ku butegetsi, sibwo uburere bwe bwaba buhindutse. Dore ko igihe yari i Butare mu w'1987 yivugiye ubwe ko ari "Baringa". Kuba rero Museveni afasha inyenzi, ntibitangaje kandi biragaragara kuko ibimenyetso bihari. Vuba aha, Museveni yahimbye amayeri, avuga ko agiye kwirukana mu ngabo ze abo yise "abasinzi" cyangwa se "abanywa ibiyobya bwenge". Icyo cyemezo cyarebaga abasirikari ba NRA barenga ibihumbi magana abiri (200.000). Abo bantu bose niko ari "abasinzi" cyangwa se "abanywa ibiyobya bwenge". Birumvikana ko bwari uburyo bwo gufata igice cya NRA akacyohereza gufasha Inkotanyi. Ikimenyimenyi ni uko serivisi z'Ubufaransa zishinzwe iperereza zemeza ko ingabo za Museveni zifasha inkotanyi muri iki gihe. Inyenzi zambara imyenda isa n'iyabasirikari ba NRA, zikagira intwaro zimwe, zikaba no mu bigo bimwe.

Igitero inyenzi zagabye tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 cyari kigamije gufata imigi ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Byumba, na Kigali, nk'uko izo serivisi zibyemeza. Museveni yahaye inyenzi abasirikari bageze kuri "bataillons" icumi ni ukuvuga abantu bagera ku bihumbi umunani (8.000). Anabaha n'intwaro za rutura zimwe bita "artillerie". Muri icyo gitero kandi abasirikari b'abatutsi baba muri NRA nibo bari kwisonga. Umwe mu basirikari bakuru bayobora imirwano mu gace ka Byumba niwe uherutse kubisobanura neza. Igihe yavugaga ko bitumvikana ukuntu umutwe w'inyeshyamba (FPR) wagira abasirikari n'ibikoresho biruta iby'ibihugu byinshi byigenga. Ni aho kwibaza.

Museveni akomeje kwitiranya u Rwanda na Uganda.

U Rwanda si Uganda, kandi ubutegetsi buriho, niyo bwaba atari shyashya si kimwe n'ubwari muri Uganda ku bwa Idi Amin, Obote cyangwa se Tito Okelo. Aha rero niho Museveni yibeshyera. Kuko usanga uburyo Inkotanyi zakoresheje zigitera kandi zigikoresha busa neza neza n'ubw'inyeshyamba za Museveni zakoresheje zifata Kampala mu w'1986. Icyo gihe inyeshyamba za Museveni zabanje kujegeza ubutegetsi bwariho muri Uganda zibwangisha abaturage. Inyeshyamba za Museveni zakoresheje iterabwoba, zica abaturage ku buryo umutekano wabaye muke cyane, abaturage bagahora mu kintu cy'ubwoba. Zikurikizaho kujya mu mishyikirano i Nayirobi bya nyirarureshwa naho ubwo zirisuganya kugeza igihe zibusingiriye. Museveni amenye rero ko uwo mutwe ushaje. Abanyarwanda (abahutu) bari maso, biyemeje gufatanya n'ingabo zabo bagahashya umwanzi n'ibyitso bye.

KANGURA

NSENGIYAREMYE ARAKINA MU BIKOMEYE

Bajya bavuga ngo Imana yirirwa ahandi igataha i Rwanda. Muri ibi bihe ariko, umenya iyo Mana idaheruka ino. Kuko iyo bitaba ibyo yadukiza abanzi bakomeje kudutera, ikanaduhanira abagambanyi nka Nsengiyaremye. Nsengiyaremye niba koko "asenga iyamuremye", igihe kirageze ngo ajye muri penetensiya akihana ibyaha yakoreye kandi agikorera iki gihugu kuva yaterekwa ku ntebe y'ubutware. Urwobo Ministiri w'Intebe yaroshyemo uru Rwanda rugana urwo inyenzi Kigeli V Ndahindurwa yarusizemo mu w'1959 naho ureke ibyo babeshyeye Kayibanda.

Amahirwe abanyarwanda bagifite ni uko guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye ishigaje igihe gito. Dore ko manda y'iyo guverinoma yagaragaje "ingufu" mu bugambanyi izarangira ejo bundi mu kwezi kwa kane 1993. Naho ubundi abanyarwanda bashiduka igihugu cyabo Nsengiyaremye yacyometse kuri Uganda. Kuba Nsengiyaremye n'ishyaka rye bakorana n'Inkotanyi, byari amahirwe kuko dukeka ko yari kuzinginga zikaba ziretse kudutera mu gihe twari dutegereje ikizava Arusha. Cyokora ibitero inkotanyi zagabye mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba byatweretse ko nta wazizera. Nta gihe tutabwiye Nsengiyaremye na bagenzi be ko kunga ubumwe n'umututsi (cyane cyane w'inyenzi) ari nko kurya umwenda w'inkuba. Nsengiyaremye nawe yarabyiboneye kandi aranabizi kuturusha dore ko nawe ari "inkuba".

Ibitero inyenzi ziherutse kugaba mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba byanatweretse kandi ko tutagomba gukomeza kwishinga Nsengiyaremye ukomeje kwitwara nk'umwana w'igitambambuga. Ibihe tugezemo si ibyo gukina kuko twazabyumva dushaje.

Mu ijambo Ministiri w'Intebe aherutse kugeza ku banyarwanda, twari twizeye ko noneho agiye kwamagana ubugome bw'inkotanyi nawe yiboneye. Si bwo twumiwe! Veterineri we, uretse no kwamagana Inkotanyi, yahindukiranye abanyarwanda abumvisha ko ngo igihe cy'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu n'imbunda cyarangiye. Mu gihe abasirikari bahatanaga ku rugamba, abaturage mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba inkotanyi zabamaze, Nsengiyaremye we ngo ntawe ugomba kwitwaza intambara ngo anige demokarasi. Aho guha abo baturage bangara, babuze iyo bagana ka "pole", Nsengiyaremye ngo intambara ntigomba guhagarika ubuzima! Ngo igihe cyo guhiga ibyitso cyararangiye. Kuri we abari ku rugamba ngo bari ku kazi kabo, abandi nabo bari ku kabo.



Hari uwigeze kuvuga ati uwafata Nsengiyaremye, ukamushyira muri kajugujugu, ukamutereka muri Komini Kinigi cyangwa se muri Kivuye, iyo za Byumba. Maze tukareba ko yongera guteta! Rahira ko inkotanyi zitamushahura. Ahari yakwemera ko inkotanyi ari ingome, akumva icyo ubutegetsi bw'imbunda icyo ari cyo. Nibwo yabona demokarasi y'inyenzi icyo ari cyo. Nibwo yakumva kandi akibonera ukuntu inyenzi ari "abavandimwe". Nsengiyaremye yari akwiye gukura akareka gukina mu bikomeye. Nta kuntu wakohereza abasirikari kurwana n'inyenzi iyo ku mipaka, usize izindi imbere mu gihugu. Kuki ibyitso bitashakishwa? kuki amarondo atakorwa? Kuki mitingi z'amashyaka zitahagarara? Tukabanza tukarwana intambara y'amasasu, iy'amagambo ikazaza nyuma. Nsengiyaremye ngo mitingi z'amashyaka nizikomeze mu turere tutaberamo imirwano! Ubwo ni uburyo bwo kumvisha abaturage batuye aho inyenzi zibasiye ngo birwarize. Nyamara se uretse ko inyenzi zateye ziturutse mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda, umunsi zaturutse mu majyepfo bizagenda gute ? Nabo bazirwarize !

Ibitero by'inyenzi mu Ruhengeri na Byumba byatumye abantu bibaza ibyo turimo Arusha ngo ni imishyikirano. Gushyikirana ni ngombwa kuko intambara yica, igasenya. Ariko imishyikirano ntigomba kuba uburyo bwo kugabiza igihugu inyeshyamba zidafite n'ubushake bwo gushyikirana. Ibyo Ngurinzira yasinyiye (n'ubwo bidashobora gushyirwa mu bikorwa), ntibyari bihagije ngo inyenzi zishime? Ariko se ntimwabonye ibyo zakoze?

Inyenzi nkuru Kagame (benshi bita Kagome kubera ubugome bwe) yemeza ko inyenzi zitera Byumba na Ruhengeri zari zije guhorera abagogwe (ubwoko bwa kane!) n'abatutsi baguye mu mvururu ziherutse kubera mu mperefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Gisenyi na Kibuye. Hazagire rero uwongera kuvuga ko FPR atari ishyaka ry'abatutsi, rirwanira abatutsi?

Iyo Nsengiyaremye aba umuntu ushyira mu gaciro, yasabye Guverinoma ye guhagarika imishyikirano y'Arusha. Nta kuntu umuntu yaza akaguhekura, warangiza mukicarana ku meza amwe ngo murareba ukuntu yazagaruka (kwica)! Ikindi kitumvikana muri iriya mishyikirano ni uko abayirimo (cyane cyane intumwa za Guverinoma y'u Rwanda), batajya batunga agatoki abategetsi ba Uganda kandi aribo bagize uruhare runini muri iyi ntambara. Kandi baracyakomeza. Intumwa za guverinoma y'u Rwanda

mu mishyikirano y'Arusha zagombye gusaba Perezida wa Uganda, Yoweri Museveni, kwerura, akabwira amahanga niba akomeje gufasha inkotanyi, u Rwanda narwo rukamenya neza uko rwakwifata. Hari umusirikari uri ku rugamba i Byumba uherutse kuvuga ati uretse ibibazo bya politiki naho ubundi inkotanyi twazigeza i Kabale. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda niba koko ishaka amahoro yari ikwiye guha uruhushya ingabo zacu zikagarura ubutaka bw'u Rwanda bwose. Byaba na ngombwa zigakurikirana umwanzi no mu ndir. , .andi irazwi. Naho ubundi nta kuntu intambara yapfa irangiye. Inkotanyi zizakomeza zitera, nizitsindwa zisubirire muri Uganda ziruhuke. Biriya by'imishyikirano birazifasha cyane. Imishyikirano ituma zisuganya, ikanatuma zimenyekana cyane dore ko ari uburyo bwiza bwo kwiyamamaza. Kuko ku munyamahanga, kuba u Rwanda rwemera gusiragira Arusha ari uko rwemera ko inkotanyi nazo zifite ingufu, mbese habuze uwatsinda n'uwatsindwa, kandi atari ko bimeze.

Abategetsi b'u Rwanda, ntibari bakwiye kwishinga amahanga. Iyi ntambara ntizarangirizwa Arusha, Addis Abeba cyangwa se ahandi. Dore ko byanagaragaye ko uretse n'umuryango w'abibumbye (ONU), umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA), nta ntambara n'imwe wigeze ukemura mu mateka y'Afurika. Liberiya, Somaliya, Angola Mozambike, Sudani bitubere urugero. None se akimuhana ntikaza imvura ihise?

KANGURA

RADIYO RWANDA IGEZE AHO GUTINYA KUVUGA IJAMBO «INYENZI» !

Minisitiri w'itangazamakuru, akaba n'umumotsi wa guverinoma, Pascal Bayironi Ndengejeho, niwe uherutse kuvuga ngo Radiyo Rwanda ni radiyo y'amahoro. Iryo jambo ryateye abantu benshi kwibaza ku mikorere ya Radiyo y'igihugu cyane cyane muri iki gihe iri mu maboko y'ishyaka abahanga basigaye bita iry'"umushyo" MDR-FPR. Muri Kangura n° 39 twabwiye abasomyi bacu ko Radiyo Rwanda isigaye ari Radiyo Muhabura, ishami ryayo (station relais) rivugira i Kigali. Bamwe babifasheho urwenya, abandi ngo ni ugusebanya! Nyamara ukuri kuragenda gutsinda, ariko kugenda kugaragara. Ibitero inyenzi zagabye mu Ruhengeri na Byumba byatweretse ko Radiyo y'igihugu umwanzi ayifite mu ntoki ze.

Inkotanyi zitera i Byumba no mu Ruhengeri tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993, utaritonze ngo ategе amatwi neza, byaramutonze kugira ngo amenye niba ari inyenzi zongeye kugaba ibitero. Umunyamakuru wa Radiyo Rwanda (tuyite gutyo ntawashobora) yatumenyesheje ko abasirikari b'u Rwanda bahanganye n'abasirikari ba FPR. Abenshi bagize ngo ni undi mwanzi wigabije igihugu kandi ari inyenzi (izi tuzi), Radiyo Rwanda yahaye amapeti ikazigeza ku rwego rw'abasirikari zivuye ku bunyeshyamba. Radiyo Rwanda ngo isigaye ari Radiyo y'"amahoro". Ngo ni Radiyo iteranya abanyarwanda!

Uwazuve ayo magambo niba atari ubwenge buke yisanganiwe cyangwa se atazi icyo akora, ni umucanshuro mu bandi bacanshuro. Kandi ntibitangaje. Ubundi se ni ryari Radiyo Rwanda itigeze iba Radiyo y'amahoro? Ni ryari yigeze iteranya abanyarwanda? Icyo tuzi Radiyo Rwanda yakoze ni uko buri gihe yagiye yifatanya n'abanyarwanda guhangana n'ibibazo bahuye nabyo, ari iby'ubukene cyangwa se ibyo mu rwego rwa politiki. Ni muri urwo rwego rero inyenzi ziteye mu Kwakira 1990 Radiyo Rwanda yifatanije n'abanyarwanda, bashyigikira ingabo z'igihugu zihashya inyenzi. Ingabo zarwanye iy'amasasu, Radiyo Rwanda (itangazamakuru rya Leta muri rusange na Kangura) irwana iy'ibitekerezo. Inyenzi zitsindwa hose. Sinzi rero niba ibi ari byo twakwita guteranya abanyarwanda!

Pascal Ndengejeho, hari byinshi yiyibagiza. Radiyo y'igihugu, ikinyamakuru cya Leta, Televiziyo y'igihugu bikorera igihugu, bikarengera inyungu z'igihugu. Azabaze bazamusobanurira. Hose niko bigenda. No mu bihugu byadutanze amajyambere niko bimeze. Ntuzumva na rimwe nka RFI, ivuga nabi Ubufaransa, Deutch Welle ivuga nabi Ubudage, VOA ivuga nabi Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika, BBC ivuga nabi Ubwongereza, ntibishoboka. Hari abantu bigeze gusaba ko RFI yashyirwa mu maboko y'abikorera ku giti cyabo. Maze umutegetsi umwe arababwira ati: "RFI, c'est la voix de la France éternelle". Ari byo kuvuga ngo iyo Radiyo RFI ni ijwi ry'Ubufaransa buhoraho. Si ijwi rya guverinoma iyi n'iyi, cyangwa se iry'ishyaka iri niri niyo ryaba irya Perezida wa Repubulika cyangwa Ministiri w'Intebe. Abantu baragenda igihugu kigasigara.

Ntawe uyobewe uruhare Radiyo Rwanda yagize mu guhashya inyenzi. Yagiye kenshi ihangana n'inyenzi mu bitekerezo. Muzi mwese ukuntu inkotanyi zari zarifatiye amahanga zaradutеranyije n'inshuti, ziharabika igihugu cyacu. Radiyo Rwanda yashoboye kunyomoza ibyo binyoma, ishobora kumvisha amahanga harimo n'abadufasha, aho ukuri guherereye. Radiyo Rwanda yatije umurindi ingabo z'igihugu, izishyiriraho indirimbo zizongerera "moral". Zaba indirimbo ingabo zihimbiye ubwazo cyangwa se iz'abandi bahanzi harimo icyamamare Bikindi. Radiyo Rwanda yakomeje kugira inama abanyarwanda, ibabwira uko umwanzi ateye, uko bahangana nawe.

Radiyo Rwanda yashegeshe umwanzi kugeza aho avuga ko Radiyo Rwanda ngo ari iya Habyarimana. Impamvu ntayindi ni uko yari (Radiyo Rwanda) yarananiye inyenzi. Kuva rero aho MDR yeguriwe Minisiteri y'Itangazamakuru, inkotanyi zabyiniye ku rukoma. Kandi ni mu gihe! Intwaro yari yarazishegeshe zari ziyicakiye. Radiyo Rwanda ihita iba neza neza iy'inyenzi, Radiyo Rwanda yunganira Radiyo Muhabura kwamamaza amatwara y'inyenzi... "copie conforme"...

Nubwo intambara yari igikomeza, Radiyo Rwanda yo yihatiye guca intege ingabo z'u Rwanda. Yumvisha abanyarwanda ko intambara idateze kurangira, ko bo n'ingabo zabo batatsinze kandi badateze gutsinda inyenzi. Amagambo umwanzi, icyitso, inyenzi, acika mu mvugo y'abanyamakuru. Indirimbo zateraga ingabo z'u Rwanda akanyabugabo barazishyingura, zishyirwa muri "frigo". Mbese Radiyo Rwanda yifatanya n'"abavandimwe" kurwanya icyo yita ubutegetsi bw'igitugu, no kuzana demokarasi... Muri uwo murimo, yunganira ibinyamakuru bisanzwe bikorera inkotanyi ku mugaragaro nka Kanguka, Rwanda Rushya, Le Flambeau, Kiberinka n'ibindi. Bi-

Komeza P. 16

NGURINZIRA NA GASANA BAKORAGA IKI ARUSHA ?........NTACYO.

Bavuga ko Ngulinzira yagambaniye igihugu na rubanda nyamwinshi kuko ubutegetsi bwose yabweguriye FPR, izirana na Repubulika na Demokarasi abishyigikiwemo na ya mashyaka ayiri mu kwaha afite intego yo guhirika ingoma ya Habyarimana akoresheje uburyo bushoboka bwose nubwo byaba ari ugutatira igihango cya Revolisiyo y'1959.

Gasana we yamurushije gutaha imbokoboko no kudasanganirwa n'ibitutsi byinshi cyangwa imvururu kuko yaje ari ntacyo asinyiye. Nabwo ariko ya mashyaka akorana n'umwanzi azaboneraho umwanya wo gukomeza kubeshyera MRND na perezida wayo ko aribo badindiza imishyikirano, badashaka amahoro yabaye urwitwazo. Kuri FPR yo byose ni kimwe kuko icyo ishaka ari imirwano yo kuyigeza ku butegetsi nta kindi.

Ubundi mu gihe inkotanyi zacaga ku masezerano yo guhagarika intambara Gasana n'intumwa bajyanye baba barahise bazinga akarago ari nta n'uwo bagishije inama maze ibindi bikazaba byigirwa i Kigali ho mu Rwanda. Nah'ubundi u Rwanda rusa n'urwihamije ibyaha byose kubona rusagarirwa rugakomeza kuvugana n'umwanzi ? Nabo bahuza ndetse n'umunyamabanga mukuru wa OUA b'abatanzaniya baraturimanganya, nabo babogamiye ku ruhande rwa FPR kimwe na ba basirikare bagize umutwe wa GOMN. Nabo rero ntawabizera.

Gasana yagombaga guhita aza kureba uko ingabo ze zihagaze akamenya neza ibyo zikeneye, ibibuze akajya kubishaka mu bihugu by'inshuti. None se nk'ingabo zacu iyo zishirirwa ku masasu no ku bindi bikoresho bya ngombwa aho Nsabimana yari kubona igihe cyo kuyobora urugamba no kujya gutereta intwaro. Perezida wa Repubulika we asa n'uweguye kuri byose. Nko mu minsi ya mbere y'intambara twumvaga ko yagiye mu Misiri, mu Bufaransa, mu Bubiligi, ko yohereje intumwa muri Amerika, Kanada, Ubudage, Afurika y'epfo n'ahandi n'ahandi none nta kindi tumwumvaho uretse disikuru yo guhumuriza ingabo n'imibonano mike agirana na bamwe mu bahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu rwanda. Cyereka niba abiharira Leta ya Nsengiyaremye abanyarwanda batizeye, cyane cyane ku kibazo cy'inkotanyi....(?)

Tubivuge rero tubisubire ntabwo rwose inyenzi zishishikajwe n'imishyikirano iyariyo yose ahubwo zirayikwena zitegurira ibitero bya simusiga. Ibyaribyo byose zizi neza ko n'ubwo baziha ibya mirenge abaturage badateze kuzakira no kubana nazo neza. Mu mijyi wenda ho birashoboka ariko nta nkotanyi izoherezwa mu giturage ngo iharare kabiri naho abapolisi na jandarumeri byashyirwa mu maboko ya FPR. Ntabwo umusirikare wasimbutse amasasu y'izo nkenya maze bene wabo bagashirira ku icumu, abandi bagacika amaboko n'amaguru azashobokana na ba bandi bamuhushije. Micombero yarivugiye ati : uzompusha njewe sinzomuhusha... ! Ibyo FPR irabizi ni nayo mpamvu idashaka ubutegetsi busangiwe. Abanyapolitiki n'abasirikare bacu nibakaze ahubwo umurya wo guhangana nayo aho gukomeza gukikira no kwerekeza ibibazo aho bitari.

Ndekezi Bonaparte.

Radiyo Rwanda igeze...

Ibikurikira urupapuro rwa 15.

kindi aracecekeshwa, Kayirebwa ahabwa urubuga! Radiyo Rwanda ikorera umwanzi biratinda kugeza ubwo iciye agahigo ejo bundi inyenzi zongeye gutera.

Nibarize abanyamakuru ba Radiyo Rwanda. Ko ijambo inyenzi atari mwe mwarihimbye, muritinyira iki? Emwe ko atari n'igitutsi! Inyenzi nizo ziyise gutyo kandi zizi icyo zashakaga kuvuga. Iz'ubu zongeraho Inkotanyi ariko zikiri inyenzi. Kuvuga ko kanaka ari kanaka atari wowe ubimwise, ikibazo kiri he? None se "amavubi", "intamba", "Léopards", "lions", si amazina y'amakipe y'ibihugu yiyubashye? Harya ngo muba mwanga kwiteranya n'abavandimwe ra? Nyamara rero inyenzi ngo utayise inyenzi mwabipfa! Sibyo Mukezamfu...?

KANGURA

UBUGOME BWA MINISITIRI AGATA BURENZE IHANIRO

Akarimi keza ntikabuzaumurozi kugarika ingogo. Bigaragarira kuri Minisitiri Uwilingiyimana Agata uvuga ko abana bose ari ab'igihugu, ko aharanira demokarasi ariko mu kuronda akarere n'ishyaka akarusha abazima n'abapfuye. Yagize kwima amashuri abo yita abakiga, ugereranyije n'imyanya bagombaga kubona hakurikijwe iringaniza ridafifitse, none n'abo yayahaye - nabwo basabiwe n'abo muri ya mashyaka yiyunze n'umwanzi - arababurabuza afunga ibigo bigamo nka Muramba na Shyira kandi atari ngombwa. Ubu ho arabyinira ku rukoma kuko inkotanyi zamufashije kwirukana abigaga mu mashuri ya Ruhengeri na Byumba. Kugeza uyu munsi iyo nkuba yasebyaga Mbangura ngo we akora amalisiti menshi y'abemerewe iracyohereza abana na mashuri. Si nk'Umutebo nibura wakurikizaga amanota ahubwo iyo Nzambiyakazi yamize isoni yo yihera ab'iwabo gusa n'abasabiwe n'abarwanashyaka ba ya mashyaka y'ingambanyi ariko cyane cyane aba MDR.

Gumyusenge Jumapili.

LANDO ARASHAKA KUMARIRA KU ISASU ABAKUWE MU BYABO BOSE

Mu ijambo yavugiye kuri Radiyo ku itariki ya 18/2/93 Minisitiri Lando, umututsi ukorana bikomeye na FPR-inkotanyi, yasabye ko abakuwe mu byabo n'inyenzi barundanywa hamwe bose ndetse n'abategetsi babo kugira ngo inkotanyi zibone uko zibarasira hamwe nk'uko ziri kubigenza mu duce zihingutsemo ntihasigare n'uwo kubara uko byagenze. Nk'ubwo koko Perezida wa Repubulika na Minisitiri (we) w'Intebe baracyategereje iki kugira ngo bambure uwo mwanzi wa rubanda nyamwinshi Ndasingwa Minisiteri y'imibereho myiza y'abatutsi gusa (bambe y'abaturage). Cyereka niba nabo ari ibyitso bya FPR. Ibyaribyo byose Habyara na Nsenga babe bitegura kuzaryozwa ubuzima bw'izo nzirakarengane zose.

Rukubayihunga Georges.

AMADENI YA FPR N'UMUGAMBI WAYO WO KOMEKA U RWANDA KURI UGANDA NIBYO BIDINDIZA IMISHYIKIRANO.

Nta narimwe tutavuze ko inyenzi zidashobora guhemukira ikinyoma. Ndetse muribuka ko mbere y'uko imishyikirano y'i Arusha itangira twari twabivuze. Ibyo ziherutse gukora guhera tariki ya 8 Gashyantare byerekanye ko rwose inyenzi zikundira ikinyoma kurusha byose. Impamvu zitera iyo ngeso ni nyinshi : inyenzi zariye imyenda myinshi zidashobora kwishyura haramutse habaye gusa igabana ry'ubutegetsi. Kereka igihugu cyose zicyeguriwe cyangwa zikacyiha. Ni bwo buryo bwonyine bushoboka kugira ngo zishyure. Aha biragaragara ko ibikorerwa Arusha n'ahandi ari uburyo bwo kurangaza mbere na mbere ingabo z'u Rwanda n'amahanga. Amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano yo muri Kanama 1991 yakorewe kugira ngo inyenzi zongere zisuganye, zishake ibikoresho n'abantu maze zibyutse imirwano. Zabigezeho zitwikiriye imishyikirano ya Arusha.

Abacengera cyane iyi ntambara bemeza ko ari iy'abahutu n'abatutsi ariko ku mpande zombi habuze ubihingutsa. FPR ifite abahutu b'udukingirizo bayifasha kubeshya amahanga n'aho u Rwanda rwabuze intwari isobanura mu kuri uko iyi ntambara iteye. Iyo ntwari igomba kuva hagati ya Perezida wa Repubulika na Minisitiri w'Intebe. Abo bantu bombi nibo batuma iyi ntambara itarangira. Turizera ko umunsi batangarije kuri Radiyo Rwanda ko iyi ntambara ari iy'abahutu n'abatutsi itazamara amezi atatu itararangira. Bitabaye ibyo, iyi ntambara ifite nk'indi myaka itatu imbere yayo.

Gahunda ya Museveni yerekana ko u Rwanda rugomba komekwa kuri Uganda. Muri icyo gihe abahutu bo mu Nduga no mu Rukiga bazatemagurwa nta kureba ishyaka barimo cyangwa akamaro bagiriye inyenzi kugira ngo zitsinde. Museveni yabeshye Libiya ko u Rwanda nirumara gufatwa rwo na Uganda bizahita bihinduka igihugu cy'abayisilamu. N'u Burundi ngo bushobora kuzomekwa kuri icyo gihugu.

Banyarwanda mugikunze igihugu cyanyu, muribonera neza ko iyo migambi idashobora kugerwaho habaye igabana ry'ubutegetsi. Tubibutseko hari igitekerezo inkotanyi zigeze gutanga muri Arusha I cy'uko Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yakwishyura kimwe cya kabiri cy'amafaranga zakoresheje zirwana. Icyo gitekerezo ntabwo cyatinzweho. Noneho zabonye biteye isoni. Uko biri kose, tuzirikane ko icyo kintu cyavuzwe.

Gr. Kayibanda ati : «ugomera igihugu si umunyarwanda». Twe twatekerezaga ko iriya mishyikirano ya Arusha izabuza inyenzi kugomera u rwanda noneho zikaba Abanyarwanda nk'abandi. Mu kwakira 1990 ubwo zateraga zarwanye mu buryo bwa gisirikari buzwi (guerre classique) nyamara icyo gihe tukazita inyeshyamba. None ubu ziri kurwana bunyeshyamba nibwo badusaba kuzita abavandimwe. Abenshi mu banyapolitiki b'uru Rwanda aho baketse kuzasanga umutwe bazahasanga amaguru maze bumirwe !

Mbere ya tariki 8 Gashyantare, abakunzi b'Inkotanyi bari bamaze kwiyongera, none ubu ibintu biragenda birushaho kuzamba. Uko abayoboke bamwe na bamwe b'amashyaka batahura ubusuma bw'inyenzi niko mu mashyaka harimo hagenda havuka ikibazo cyo kutabona kimwe umwanzi.

Ni muri urwo rwego muri MDR batangiye gutanga andi makarita mashya y'abaparmehutu. Ngo abatabyemera baziviremo n'ubundi nta cyo bari bamariye iryo shyaka ry'umucyo usibye gutuma riseba. Tariki ya 25/02/1992, MDR yasohoye itangazo rivuga ibibazo igihugu kirimo birebana n'amashyaka n'intambara. Muri iryo tangazo harimo icyifuzo cy'uko ingabo z'u Bufaransa zagirwa nyinshi kurushaho, zikagera nko ku bihumbi mirongo itatu (30.000).

Nyamara mu gihugu cy'i Burundi, Twagiramungu Faustin, Perezida wa MDR, ari mu basinyiye ko Abafaransa batahuka, PSD na PDC nayo yageze i Bujumbura asinyira amasezerano atandukanye n'ibyo abayoboke b'ayo mashyaka bari basabye. Mu yandi magambo FPR iragenda igongagisha abayoboke b'ishyaka iri n'iri kugira ngo ibone uburyo ikomeza gusarurira mu nduru.

Arusha, Bujumbura,, Dar-Es-Saalam ni muzunga FPR ishaka kubyinisha abanyamashyaka kugira ngo ibone uko ifata ubutegetsi. Guhora bahindagura ahabera imishyikirano sibyo bizagarura amahoro ahubwo ni uburyo bwo kujijisha. Naho ubundi ntabwo FPR izemera kugabana ubutegetsi n'ishyaka iryo ari ryo ryose. Ibukeneye yonyine kugira ngo irusheho kugira icyizere cy'umutekano w'abayoboke bayo baranzwe n'ubugome. Ibukeneye yonyine kugira ngo ibashe kwikoreramo noneho yishyure imyenda y'abandi cyane cyane iya MUSEVENI. Ibukeneye yonyine kugira ngo, idindize demokarasi nk'uko Museveni yayidindije muri Uganda.

Kangura.

GATABAZI ARASONGA ABAKUWE MU BYABO:

Mu basenyerwa na MINITRAPE higanjemo abanyaruhengeri n'abanyabyumba bahungiye mu mujyi wa Kigali. Abenshi bagerageza kuzingazinga utururi aho babonaga hadatuwe bamaze kumvikana na konseye n'umugenzuzi w'imyubakire mu mijyi. Hari igihe rero kateripirari iza igakubita hasi inzu yuzuye, maze za mpunzi zikabura epfo na ruguru. Ubu se ko zirushaho kwiyongera kandi zikaba zidashoboye kwiyubakira za «cadastrés» zizakomeza kuba mu kirere nk'ibisiga. Ese mama aho uwo Gatabazi wanga urunuka abo mu majyaruguru bose ntiyanabikorera ubugome ngo yumvishe abo bakiga ? Icyakora agize umutima-muntu w'imbabazi yareka izo ngorwa zikabona nazo aho zikinga nka we.

CHR. NYILINDEKWE

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INZOZI ZA KARENZI KARAKE, UMUKURU W'INYENZI ZO MURI GOMN

Soma Karènzi nk'uko wavuga Kabera. Karenzi birumvikana ko ari izina ry'abatutsi. Nawe niwe, kimwe n'inkotanyi bene wabo. Ni inyenzi mu zindi. Karenzi we cyokora nta bwo asa na ya "mihirimbiri itunzwe n'ibitiritiri", Casimir Bizimungu yajyaga atubwira. Yarize! Azi iby'amategeko, akaba yaranyuze mu ishuri (rikuru?) rya gisirikari iyo za Tanzaniya, "Tanzania Military Academy". N'ubwo akiri umusore, ubu ni "commander" mu nyenzi, nako muri RPA (Rwandese Patriotic Army), ishami rya gisirikari ry'umutwe wa RPF (Rwandese Patriotic Front). Ni "umukozi" wa OUA kimwe na bagenzi be bo mu Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Sènègal, Nigeria, bari muri GOMN.

Inyenzi zo muri uwo mutwe w'abasirikari "badafite aho baboga miye", uko ari eshanu, uzibwirwa n'imyambaro itagira amapeti nk'uko kuri bagenzi babo bo mu bindi bihugu bigaragara. Icyapa bafite ni icya OUA, umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika. Cyokora iyo witegereje neza isura yabo usanga iteye ukwayo. Ni naho uhita ubona ko uri kumwe n'abantu badasanzwe muri iki gihugu cyokora basa na bene Musinga aba ba... vrais! Cyane cyane uwitwa Sarto. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yabagiriye akabanga muri iyi minsi ibemerera noneho kwambara ibendera ry'u Rwanda n'ubwo bamwe bataryikoza. Wakumva bavuga ikinyarwanda ukibaza niba ari ingabo z'u Rwanda zahindutse abatutsi gusa gusa, nta muhutu uzirimo. Iyo muganiriye akanya ukumva ibitekerezo by'abo bantu niho ubona ko waguye mu nyenzi z'ingome.

Nizo «ngorane» KANGURA yagize igihe General Ekundayo Opaleye yajyaga kwereka abanyamakuru aho inkotanyi zihanganye n'ingabo z'u Rwanda mu karere ka Ngarama. KANGURA yagize "amahirwe"? yo kujyana mu modoka imwe n'inyenzi Karake Karenzi, "afande" w'inkotanyi ziri muri GOMN, atubohoza kuva i Kigali kugera i Ngarama kugenda no kugaruka. Uwo musore arota byinshi. Iyo nyenzi "ipinga" revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959, ikaba itanayemera. Birumvikana kandi kuko iyo revolisiyo ariyo yakuye ba sekuru ku kinyoma. Karenzi Karake iwabo ni i Bulinga ya Gitarama. We anemeza ko iyo revolisiyo niba yaranabaye, ngo yapfubye! Cyane cyane ngo tariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973 igihe ingabo z'igihugu zagobokaga u Rwanda zikaruvana mu gisimu abanyapolitiki bari baruroshyemo. Twagerageje kumvisha uwo "muvandimwe" ko revolisiyo "morale" yaje ishimangira iyo mu w'1959, Karenzi azinga umunya. Muri bwa bugome bwazo ati: Habyarimana ntiyafashe imbunda "agashimangira" revolisiyo yo mu w'1959? Natwe rero twaje "kuyishimangira"... n'imbunda.

abafaransa bivanga mu bibazo by'abanyarwanda bitabareba. Wamubaza iby'inkunga Museveni atera inkotanyi, Karenzi Karake agaca. Ngo Museveni ni tumureke, yimereye neza n'abanya Uganda. Ni nde se uyobewe ko Museveni yibye abanya Uganda igihugu cyabo. Ngo kubona Museveni adushumuriza inkotanyi ni amakosa ya Habyarimana n'ubutegetsi bwe!!



Impuzamugambi ntabwo ari agatsiko k'aba G.P. 200 nk'uko Karenzi Karake abirota mu bunyenzi bwe.

Karenzi ngo ababazwa n'uko u Rwanda rutitaye ku kibazo cy'impunzi kugera igihe zitereye. Tumubwira ko ari urwitwazo kuko inyenzi zateye ikibazo cy'impunzi kiri hafi gukemurwa. Atuvanira inzira ku murima yemeza ko iyo mishyikirano bari barimo ntacyo yari kugeraho. Duhita twibaza niba iy'Arusha nayo itazaba nk'iyo ya mbere. "Commander" Karake arota inkotanyi zafashe Ruhengeri, Byumba, zageze i Rwamagana, zisonga mbere mpaka.. Nyamijos! Ngo zigeze i Tare, n'i Rulindo ngo ziri yo. Karenzi ntiyiyumvisha ukuntu ingabo z'u Rwanda zazisubiza inyuma zikaba zazigezaho muri Uganda. Ngo abo "bana" (inkotanyi) bararakaye, ari nako atwemeza ko igihugu cyabo "inkotanyiland" kigenda gikura. Nyamara iyo nyenzi ntimenye ko uretse guverinoma y'icyitso ya Nsengiyaremye yahagaritse imirwano, inyenzi ya nyuma iba ibarizwa ku mupaka!

Mu bibabaza cyane "commander" Karenzi harimo abasirikari b'Abafaransa bari ino ariko cyane cyane Perezida w'icyo gihugu, François Mitterand yita "interahamwe". Kuri we ngo

Karenzi kimwe n'inyenzi bene wabo bari mu karere ka Ngarama, bemeza ko bagaba ibitero mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 bari bagamije "kubuza Leta ya Habyarimana gukomeza kwica abatutsi n'abagogwe". Wamubaza niba kuza wica abaturage b'inzirakarengane ariko guhosha imvururu, agahakana ko inyenzi atari zo zishe abaturage mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba. Ngo abapfuye bishwe ku buryo bw'impanuka cyangwa se bivuganwe n'ingabo z'u Rwanda! Ni nde se uyobewe ko inyenzi zafataga abahutu cyane cyane bo muri MRND na CDR zikabashyira mu nzu zarangiza zikabatwikiramo? Wapfa by'impanuka warangiza ukirundarunda (wapfuye) hamwe n'abandi? Karenzi Karake iyo muganiriye usanga afite amayeri menshi. Ibyo birasanzwe dore ko ari n'inkotanyi. Ari nako ahishe byinshi. Umuntu ukumvisha ko nta moko mu Rwanda abaho! Ngo umunyarwanda nta bwoko agira, nta muhutu, nta mututsi, nta mutwa. Nyamara iyo urebye imirambo y'inyenzi, ikiyiranga ni uburebure n'utuzuru tureture. Kandi gutinya kuvuga ikibazo cy'abahutu n'abatutsi byonyine bihishe byinshi.

→ P. 19

BURUNDI : Buyoya arasiganwa n'igihe.

Umugabo Petero Buyoya, Perezida w'u Burundi, yatewe atunguwe. Afata ubutegetsi tariki ya gatatu Nzeri 1987 yari azi ko azamara igihe kirekire ku butegetsi bityo agakomeza umurage wa ba sekuru be b'abatutsi wo gukandamiza abahutu b'i Burundi uko ingoma na Repubulika ntutsi bizajya bisimburana. Nyamara Buyoya yasanze yaribeshye. Iminsi y'igisambo iba ibaze. Bavuga ko ari mirongo ine n'umwe. Buyoya nawe ari hafi kwibonera ukuri twagiye tumubwira akakwirengangiza. Ubwoba afite nibwo butuma atakiba i Bujumbura akaba yirirwa azengurika intara z'u Burundi kugira ngo arebe ko ikinyoma cye cyafashe. Icyo tuzi ni uko azatangara.

Buyoya yatewe atunguwe kuko ntiyari azi ko mu Burundi havuka andi mashyaka atari ay'abatutsi gusa. Igihe kiregereje ngo abana b'abahutu nabo bicare ku ntebe y'ubutegetsi. Na Buyoya arabibona. Amezi asigaye arabarirwa ku mitwe y'intoki. Ni ejo bundi mu kwa gatandatu ukuri kugatsinda binyuze mu matora. Ni ejo bundi, uku: Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo bakomeje kwirengangiza, kukakya ahagaragara. Uko kuri guteye gutya: imbaga nyamwinshi y'abahutu i Burundi igize 85 ku ijana y'Abarundi bose izipakurura agatsiko k'abatutsi nyakamwe batarenze 14 ku ijana by'abaturage. Ako gatsiko kakaba kari kamaze ibinyejana bine ku ngoma, kica, kagakiza. Buyoya kubona yirirwa mu ntara z'u Burundi, si ugukunda abaturage ashinzwe kuyobora. Dore ko abatuye icyaro mu Burundi, abenshi ari abahutu. Nibo batunze abatutsi badakozwa imirimo y'amaboko. Abo banenganenzi b'abatutsi bibera mu migi cyane cyane i Bujumbura.

dahumuka muri politiki abatutsi bongere bibe ubutegetsi. Ari nayo mpamvu ashyira cyane cyane imbere Uprona ndetse n'igikomangoma, Louis Rwagasore. Ni uko yizera ko abarundi batari bavumbura amayeri y'abatutsi. Burya rero si buno. Buyoya abe ashaka aho azahungira abahutu bamaze gutsinda. Kuko rubanda izamubaza ibyo



Buyoya niba yirirwa azenguruka intara z'i Burundi aba agamije kureba niba ikinyoma cye cyarafashe. Aba ashaka kureba niba abaturage bagisinzirijwe na bwa "bumwe" bw'abarundi abeshyeshya kugira ngo aramuke. Radiyo Burundi, twemeza ko iri mu maboko y'abatutsi, kandi birumvikana, nayo yunganira buri gihe Buyoya mu kinyoma cye. Niyo yirirwa "isamira" yemeza ko ngo "ubumwe" bw'abarundi bwagezweho! None se Buyoya ahangayikishijwe n'iki ko "ubumwe" bw'abarundi buhari?

Ikihutisha Buyoya turakizi. Arashaka kuroha abarundi mu matora ya huti huti kugira ngo abafatanye no kuabatutsi bene wabo bakoze. Ubuhungiro ntibubuze, mukuru we Museveni azamwakira nk'uko yakiriye Bagaza. Cyokora yagira vuba kuko hari igihe atazaba agishoboye no guhunga. Kandi ni vuba. Nta na rimwe Kangura yigeze itsindwa imanza zerekeranye n'ibyo yandika kuri Buyoya na guverinoma ye. Bahutu mwese rero b'i Burundi ni mwumve ko ibyo twavuze kandi tuvuga kuri Buyoya ari ukuri: arangwa n'igitugu, ubwicanyi, irondakoko, isahuramutungo, n'ibindi... Bahutu rero nimushyira hamwe, gashozamvururu Major Pierre Buyoya azabyara ibihumye nka ya mbwa...

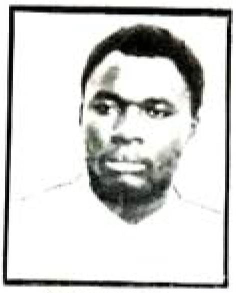
KANGURA

Kubwira Karenzi ko hari ishyaka CDR riharanira inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu, uba ushaka ko mushwana. Kuri we, CDR ngo ni "abicanyi" b'aba GP (barinda Perezida wa Repubulika) batarenze... 200! CDR ngo akaba ari "ikibwana" cya MRND. Ngo kuba FPR yaremereye CDR umwanya umwe mu Nteko Ishinga amategeko (abadepite) muri guverinoma itaha, ni imbabazi. Ukibaza icyo inyenzi ari cyo kugira ngo zitegeke abantu bagize 85 ku ijana by'abanyarwanda bose. Inzozi za Karenzi uwazirondora ntiyarangiza. Gusa iyo nyenzi buri gihe ishiduka isanga ingabo z'u Rwanda zihagaze neza ku rugamba, imirambo y'inyenzi ari yose. Icyizere cye kigahita kiyoyoka. Burya koko inzozi zigira nkana. Hari igihe Karenzi nawe (aka ya ndirimbo) rimwe azarota... sa cherie!

KANGURA

EDITORIAL

HABYARIMANA NAVEHO NIBA ANANIWE GUSEZERERA NSENGIYAREMYE.



NGEZE Hassan

Ibyifuzo by'umugabo bigaragarira mu byo avuga naho ubutwari bwe bukagaragarira mu byo akora. Inshuti yawe niyo ituma bamenya icyo uricyo.

Nk'uko bizwi ingoma yose igira intangiriro n'iherezo. Ishobora kugira intangiriro mbi ariko iherezo rikaba ryiza nk'uko intangiriro ishobora kuba nziza iherezo rikaba ribi. Itangira ribi, iherezo ryiza, biboneka iyo abagize ingoma cyangwa ibyegera byayo bafite umutima w'ubutwari, umutima wemera ibitekerezo by'abandi ukabasha kwikosora. Kugira uwo mutima bisobanura kuba umugaragu w'abo utegeka. Iyo bigenze bityo abatangiye barwanya ingoma yawe bagera aho bakabona ko bayihora ubusa noneho bakayiha amahoro, igasugira ikototera kugira iherezo ryiza. Ingoma itangira neza ikarangira nabi igaragara iyo abari ku butegetsi bakoresha amadisikuru ataratsa, abwira abaturage ko ubutegetsi ari ubwabo, bugenda burushaho kubegera kandi akaba aribo bukorera. Umuturage wumvise ayo magambo ahita ayoboka ubwo butegetsi n'umutima umwe. Nyamara urebye hirya no hino muri Afurika usanga abafashe akarimi keza nk'ingabo bari bafite indi migambi ihemukira rubanda gusahura igihugu kurenganya abatishoboye, gutegekesha igitugu. Mbese muri make izo disikuru zikora umurimo wo guhuma, kuroga ubwenge bwa rubanda. Ni bwo usanga abategetsi bakataza mu gukungahara ubutazakena n'abakene bakivuruguta mu butindi ubutazabubyukamo.

Iyo ngoma imeze ityo bishyira kera umuturage agahumuka akarutswa amarozi maze ubwenge bugakora neza, ubwo akanga urunuka ya ngoma yamubeshye ariko uko ateye hejuru ayamagana agahohoterwa mu buryo bwose kandi ari inzirakarengane. Ni bwo usanga mu turere hafi ya twose tw'igihugu barijunditse abategetsi bagahora basaba ko bahindurwa. Nguko uko ubutegetsi butangira neza bukarangira nabi.

Ibyifuzo by'umugabo bigaragarira mu byo avuga.

Iyi guverinoma ijya kujyaho yijeje abanyarwanda ibitangaza. Bayiyoboka baziko igiye kubakiza iyi nyatsi y'intambara. Mu yandi magambo iyi guverinoma yashatse kwereka abaturage ko ari nziza, ariko ubu mu marembera yayo biragaragara ko atari nziza na gato. HABYARIMANA ayishyiraho yavuze nk'uyiseka ngo bavuzeko bazarangiza iyi ntambara, ngaho nibajyeho turebe. Icyo twabonye, na guverinoma ikaba yarakibonye, ni uko intambara igikomeza.

HABYARIMANA yabivuze abizi kuko yari azi ubuswa bwa Nsengiyaremye n'ubukotanyi bwa bamwe mu bayigize. Icyo atabashije kumenya ni abaminisitiri bo muri MRND bagaragayeho kuba "imitako" ya guverinoma Nsengiyaremye. Abenshi muri bo bakora nk'aba cancuro nta rukundo na mba rw'ishyaka. Ibyemezo Nsengiyaremye yagize yifuzaga ko bigerwaho byagezweho n'ubwo byabaga bigamije gutesha agaciro MRND. Byerekanye ko ba ministriri b'iri shyaka ari umurimbo. Ahubwo byaje kugaragara ko iyi guverinoma izarangiza intambara ari uko u Rwanda rufashwe. Yaje ari icyambu cy'inkotanyi. Dore nawe ikimara kujyaho nibwo inyenzi zafashe henshi ku butaka bw'u Rwanda; none mu gihe cyo gusezera irikubashakira uburyo yabaha n'ahasigaye. Nyamara Habyarimana ntako atabwiwe gusezerera iriya guverinoma akurikije ububasha ahabwa n'itegeko nshinga! Aho izajugunya abanyarwanda niwe uzahabazwa mbere na mbere.

Muri iyi guverinoma ya II y'inzibacyuho, HABYARIMANA nta butwari yagaragaje, yaranzwe na disikuru nyinshi zidaherekejwe n'ibikorwa. Ibyemezo yagiye afata Nsengiyaremye yagiye abiburizamo arora n'imigambi ishyaka rye rya MRND ryifatiye, Habyarimana ubwe akayitesha agaciro. Byageze aho abayoboke b'ishyaka rye bavugana uburakari bati: "Habyarimana nakomeza kudutaba mu nama tuzamwirukana mu ishyaka ahasigaye dukomeze urugendo. Ibyemezo byacu atacyumva bishobora gutuma ishyaka ritsindwa." Abaturage bavanywe mu byabo nabo baribaza icyo HABYARIMANA ategereje kugira ngo abakize guverinoma ibagambanira.

Inshuti yawe ishobora gutuma bamenya icyo uri cyo.

Amashyaka yiyunze na MRND yakunze gusaba HABYARIMANA gushyira mu bikorwa ibyo ahora avuga ariko byaramunaniye. Natisubiraho ishyaka rye rizatakaza abayoboke benshi guhera tariki 16 Werurwe nk'uko twabibwiwe n'abayoboke ba MRND bo mu maperefegitura atandukanye.

Ubwiyunge bwa MRND na CDR bwatumye CDR ihatakariza abayoboke benshi kuko mbere yabwo abayobozi ba MRND bari barabwiye abayoboke bayo ngo CDR na MRND ni ishyaka rimwe ngo si ngombwa kwirirwa uva muri MRND ngo ugiye muri CDR. Bageze n'aho bababwira ngo Impuzamugambi zizatora abakandida ba MRND. Barongera ngo bagize uruhare mu ishingwa rya CDR. Politiki ibyayo birazwi byaje kuba ngombwa ko CDR na MRND byiyunga n'ubwo ayo mashyaka yombi adahuje intego.

Umuntu wese ushyira mu gaciro abona ko MRND na CDR hari ingingo zimwe ahuriraho ariko ntabwo ari ishyaka rimwe. None se wasobanura ute ukuntu MRND yonyine yakwegurirwa ministeri 9 zose ikabura Impuzamugambi icomekamo mu myanya yo hejuru nk'uko andi mashyaka yagiye akorera abayoboke bayo? Iyo myanya ahubwo yayihereye abatutsi n'abandi, ikibeshya ko ari abayo. Biratangaje nko kubona muri MININTER, MINISANTE, MINESUPRES... higanza mu myanya ikomeye abakozi batari abayoboke ba MRND. Ibyo inkuba Uwiringiyimana A g a t a yakoreye abagenzuzi b'uturere MRND ntiyabibonye? Abayoboke bayo bayizize yabatabaye ite?

Mu gihe twateguraga iyi nyandiko, mugenzi wacu Issa NYABYENDA yabonanye n'umwe muri ba Ambasaderi bari mu Rwanda utarashatse ko muvuga izina, amubaza icyo atekereza



Uhereye ibumoso ugana iburyo ni ba conseillers J.B. Barayagwiza,
H. Ngeze na Perezida Bucyana ba CDR
«Gushyira abavanywe mu byabo n'inyenzi hagati y'Inzirabwoba n'Inkotanyi ni ubugambanyi».

ku bibazo byugarije u Rwanda. Intambara, inzara, ubukene, amashyaka. Uwo Ambasaderi yaje kuvuga ko abona neza ko muri guverinoma Nsengiyaremye hari abakorana n'umwanzi haba mu rwego rwa demokarasi, haba mu rwego rw'intambara. HABYARIMANA ngo aba yaravanyeho kera iyi guverinoma ariko yanze kwiteranya n'amahanga, mu masezerano yagiranye n'andi mashyaka harimo ko guverinoma igomba kumara umwaka. Ikindi kandi iyi guverinoma iyobowe n'umuntu utabogamiye cyane HABYARIMANA nta kuntu yari gusezerera umuntu udafite icyo amutwaye kigaragara. Kuba Nsengiyaremye afite akamenyero gake muri politiki byari bikwiye kugirira HABYARIMANA akamaro kanini cyane.

HABYARIMANA rero nareke gukorera ku bwoba, nareke kujijinganya mu gufata ibyemezo, nasezerere ingeso ye ya gipadiri kuko hirya no hino abakunzi be bamusaba kwegura niba ananiwe gusezerera guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye. Impuzamugambi zo ngo zishobora kuva muri ARD vuba aha ngaha aho kugira ngo nazo zizabe icyambu cy'inyenzi, ziragira ziti: "muri CDR siho buhungiro bw'abashaka gushyigikira MRND"

NGEZE Hassan

Ukuri mwirengagiza...

Abaturage bahamagarirwa amatora y'abagomba kubayobora aba ari benshi. Muri bo abashobora kubonana n'abo bazatora, hose ku isi, aba ari ngume. Mu yandi magambo abatora ntibababasha, kandi ntibinashoboka, kuganira imbone nkubone n'uwo bazatora. Ikintu kigomba kuziba icyo cyuho ni itangazamakuru. Mu mirimo yaryo rigomba kwigisha no gutanga amakuru mu gihe ngombwa kandi nyayo.

Twemera ko kutaniganwa ijambo n'uburenganzira bw'itangazamakuru ari inkingi za demokarasi. Nyamara iyo ari bwo ukibyegurirwa, ubijyamo ukajajata, wamara kumenyera ugafata umurongo uhamye, byakunanira abaturage bamaze gucengerwa na demokarasi bakakwereka ibyo bashaka, noneho ukabibakorera. Muri demokarasi biragoye cyane kugira ngo itangazamakuru ripfukirane ibibazo; haba hari ibinyamakuru binyuranye mu bitekerezo no mu ntego ku buryo ikitavuzwe aha kivugwa hariya. Usomye nka "Le Flambeau" n° 2 kuri pp 12, 13, 14 usanga Rizinde uhavugira ari nk'umumarayika kuva akivuka. Haramutse hagize ikindi kimwandikaho gitandukanyije intego na "Le Flambeau" wasanga Rizinde ahindutse shitani kuko cyavuga abagabo yavanye mu ngo zabo, abo yafungishirizaga ubusa, ibinyamakuru yasomeraga mu muhanda ntihabe hagira umusaba gutambuka, affaire ya Rizinde n'umwamikazi Gicanda, amafranga abacuruzi bamuhaga kubera iterabwoba... ibyo byose birondowe, hagize ikinyamakuru kibyandika ku buryo burambuye wakwibaza niba uwo muntu yarabayeho.

Tugomba kumenya igipimo cy'ukuri.

Mu gihe tugifite itangazamakuru rigitaguza, icyo umunyarwanda akwiye kumenya ni uko igipimo gihwitse cy'ukuri ari ugushishoza guhora kuganza mu ipiganwa ry'ibitekerezo. Nka ministiri w'intebe muri guverinoma ya II y'inzibacyuho agira atya, agamije kurwanya CDR, agatangaza kuri Radiyo Rwanda ngo nta moko ari mu Rwanda, ngo hari abanyarwanda gusa. Ibibazo guverinoma ye idakemura byabyutsa amakimbirane, ngo abatutsi n'abagogwe bayiguyemo. Umunyarwanda rero ufite cya gipimo gikora neza ahita yibaza aho ayo moko yandi atari umunyarwanda avuye.

Demokarasi iyo uyigize intego kurusha uko uyishyira mu bikorwa irakuzambana. Ibikorwa kamere nk'ibituruka ku bumenyi bw'isi, amateka, imiterêre y'abaturage n'ibindi bijyana n'amadini ntibigomba kwibagirana muri demokarasi nyayo. Ese aho abanyarwanda bajya bibaza impamvu nko muri Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, hashize imyaka magana abiri irenga, nta mwirabura wari waba Perezida kandi icyo gihugu kigendera kuri demokarasi? Ni uko abirabura se badakeneye cyanbwa batifuza uwo mwanya? Igisubizo ni uko bahura n'imbogamizi nyinshi zituma badatorwa: kuba barahagejejwe n'ubucakara byatumye muri rusange bahora ari abakene ubagereranije n'abazungu; ubwo muri icyo gihugu demokarasi yabyaye ikindi kintu ishingiraho aricyo ubukire. Ikindi gituma badatorwa ni uko babarirwa muri Nyakamwe (minorité).

Duhereye ku bimaze kuvugwa haruguru, muri ibi bihe turimo, imiterere y'abaturage b'u Rwanda isa niyemera ko abahutu aribo bazasimburana igihe cyose ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika. Si ukuvuga ko ari abanyarwanda bazaba bashinze ubwo bwoko bwa demokarasi. Mwiboneye ko no mu bihugu biyidutoza ibyo bibayo. Niyo mpamvu nk'ishyaka rya CDR rigira riti: "nyakamwe niyubahe nyamwinshi na nyamwinshi arengere nyakamwe, mu bwubahane".

Demokarasi nayo iravugururwa.

Cyakora byose birashoboka kubera ko uko imyaka igenda yisunika ari nako demokarasi igenda ifata indi sura kandi igatandukana uko uva mu gihugu ujya mu kindi. Demokarasi yavukiye mu mugi wa Athènes mu Bugereki mu gisekuru cya V mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu Kristu, itandukanye n'iyo John Locke w'umwongereza na Montesquieu w'umufaransa bamamaje mu gisekuru cya 17 n'icya 18. Muri ibyo bisekuru, tuributsa ko umwirabura wo muri Amerika atari afite uburenganzira bwo gutora none ubu arabufite. Ibi birerekana neza ukuntu demokarasi igenda ivugururwa. Bityo, nta wamenya, abatutsi hari ukuntu nabo bashobora guhagika icenga muri demokarasi nyarwanda maze bagatsinda abahutu. Uko biri kose, mu cyoko cy'u Rwanda, muri iyi ntambara yashojwe n'abatutsi, tubona gutsinda kwa nyakamwe na CDR iri hanze aha ari ugushaka gufatisha ukwezi amenyo.

Abahutu n'abatutsi bapfa ubutegetsi.

Ukuri mwirengagiza muri iyi demokarasi duharanira n'iyi mburagasani y'intambara turimo ni ikibazo cy'amoko. Uwo ariwe wese uhamagarira abanyarwanda "ubumwe" yirengagiza intango y'iryo jambo. Mu byukuri buri wese yiyumvisha ko ubumwe bubaho ku bintu cyangwa abantu batandukanye. Ibiremwa bidatekereza nibyo bishobora kuvangwa batabibajije impamvu ngo banabisobanurire icyo babivanze nabyo. Naho abantu batekereza kandi bari mu mashyaka menshi bagomba kubanza kumenya uwo bunga ubumwe nawe uwo ari we n'icyo ubwo bumwe bwabamarira. Impamvu Perezida wa Repubulika Habyarimana Yuvenali yibeshye agakeka ko abanyarwanda bari mu bwato bumwe, n'umusare umwe, mu gihugu kimwe, ni uko yabanje kubashyiriraho ikintu kibatekerereza bose uko bakabaye aricyo MRND yahanzwe mu w'1975, ubu ikaba yarasheshwe. Ubumwe yacengeje ntibwigeze buhanagura ikibazo kigonganisha abahutu n'abatutsi ari cyo ubutegetsi. Icyo ayo moko yombi apfa rero kirahari kandi amatora muri politiki y'amashyaka menshi niyo yonyine azagenda agikemura buhoro buhoro.

NYABYENDA Issa.

INKOTANYI ZIRAHEMUKIRA ABATUTSI NAZO ZITIRETSE.

Abatazi neza amateka y'iki gihugu cyane cyane abanyamahanga, nibo badasobanukirwa n'ibibazo u Rwanda rufite muri iki gihe kandi bihora bigaruka. Nta munyamahanga ushobora kwiyumvisha icyo abanyarwanda bapfa. Abantu bavuga ururimi rumwe, bafite imico imwe, basa hafi ya bose ariko bahora mu ntambara cyane cyane ubwoko bubiri, abahutu n'abatutsi. Nyamara ayo moko aratandukanye, umuhutu atandukanye n'umututsi. Inyenzi Kagame niyo yivugiye ubwe ko umuhutu ntaho ahuriye n'umututsi, icyo basangiye gusa ni igihugu. Ngaho ! Kandi koko ni byo. Umuhutu n'umututsi n'ubwo bwose bavuka mu Rwanda, baratandukanye muri kamere. Umuhutu ni umuntu utagira inzika, wibagirwa vuba, ukunda kubabarira uwamukoshereje. Ari nacyo gituma umututsi akeka ko umuhutu ari ikigoryi. None se iyo abahutu baba ari abagome nk'abatutsi, ukeka ko ubu haba hari umututsi ukirangwa muri iki gihugu ? Cyane cyane iyo urebye amarorerwa abatutsi bakoreye abahutu !

Inyenzi cyangwa se Inkotanyi, uko zakwiyita kwose, ntibizazibuza kuba ari abana b'abatutsi (inzoka) cyangwa se abuzukuru babo b'abarunari bahunze revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959 yabaciye ku kinyoma. Kanyarengwe, Bizimungu, Lizinde, Biseruka n'utundi du «capot» (udukingirizo), ntacyo bazahindura kuri iryo hame. Kandi nabo tuzi ko ari ukubura uko bagira. Umunyarwanda niwe wabivuze neza agira ati: «Uhiriye mu nzu ntaho adapfunda umutwe».
Inyenzi cyangwa se Inkotanyi (Radiyo Rwanda izite uko ishaka), zibeshye kuva zahunga u Rwanda mu myaka yakurikiye revolisiyo ya rubanda, na n'ubu zikibeshya. Ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abatutsi ntikizakemurwa n'intwaro. Utekereza atyo aribeshya kandi bimaze kugaragara.

Repubulika y'u Rwanda igishingwa, inyenzi zari zizi ko itazamara kabiri. Zigaba ibitero zibwira ko zizagwa gitumo abahutu bari bamaze kwipakurura ingoyi ya cyami. Inyenzi zibeshye ku butwari bw'ingabo z'u Rwanda, icyo gihe zari nke cyane. Ntizaniyumvishaga (inyenzi) kandi ukuntu «ibihutu» byashobora gutegeka kandi nta «mbuto» byavukanye. Inyenzi zabeshye abatutsi bene wazo ngo nta kabuza zizatsinda, barategereza baraheba. Ab'inkwakuzi muri bo bitegura kugaruka kwa Kigeri bituma bagomera Repubulika na Demokarasi. Nyamara ntibabihanirwa. Abategetsi ba Repubulika ya Mbere bakomeza kwiginga abo «bana b'imana» gufatanya n'abandi banyarwanda kubaka igihugu. Uko kutabakura, abatutsi baketse ko abahutu ari ba bandi, nta cyahindutse, ari ibigoryi.

Inyenzi na n'ubu zirakibeshya ariko zinabeshya abatutsi bene wazo. Wabona hari n'abagitekereza ko Kigeri azagaruka ku ngoma. Kandi baraharí. RAVI wa Kanguka se yampakanya ?
Mu kwakira 1990, inyenzi muri bwa buhumyi bwazo bwogeye hose, zabeshye abatutsi bene wazo ngo zizafata Kigali mu minsi itatu cyangwa ine. Zashukwaga n'amahoro u Rwanda rwari rwifitiye, «abatutsi barishyira barizana», ureke ibyo P.L. ibabeshya, abategetsi bakuru baragoswe n'ibizungerezi.... mbese habura Kigeri gusa ! Inyenzi zitera, zibeshye ko abahutu bose basinziriye. Niba «koloneri» yari yaramize ku bifutero, cyangwa se kuri ka «feneriga» k'abatutsikazi «kaporali» we yari «vigilant», ari maso. Kandi yararurwanye kugeza igihe na «koloneri» akangukiye.

Abatutsi koko burya ni abatesi. Iyo abahutu bashaka kurangiza ikibazo bari bafitanye n'abatutsi, ntibari babonye impamvu nyayo ? Nyamara barabihoreye. Inyenzi ubwo niko zikomeje kubeshya abatutsi ngo zaratsinze, ngo zifite «power» (ingufu) ! Byahe se ko ari ukwihagararaho. None se tuvuge ko Rwigema atapfuye, Buyenyezi ari mu ihugurwa azagaruka, Peter Bayingana ari ku Mulindi ! Ko zateye zirenga ibihumbi icumi, mu bateye ni nde usigaye ? Ko na Kagame yaje nyuma. Abandi se bari he ? Ziracyapfa kandi zizapfa. Abatutsi nabo barasetsa. Ubwira umututsi uti ibyo mukorera abahutu umunsi barakaye, ntibazaba... (tsemba!). Kandi wikinira udakomeje. Akagusubizanya umujinya n'akababaro utazi iyo biturutse, ngo muzabatema se mubamare ? Kuki abatutsi bumva bagomba gupfa ?

Ariko iyo urebye neza usanga bifite ishingiro. Iyo bibutse amarorerwa bakoreye abahutu, bo ubwabo basanga akabije, bakicira urubakwiye ! Inyenzi nizikomeze zibarohe ngo zaratsinze !

Inyenzi wagira ngo ziba ziyenza gusa, nta bushake bwo kwumvikana. No gushyikirana nazo ntibyoroshye kuko ntacyo wageraho. Mu gihe zari zarifatiye Guverinoma y'u Rwanda Arusha, ziyisinyisha ibidashoboka, ejo bundi zigaba ibitero mu Ruhengeri no muri Byumba, nta mpamvu igaragara uretse bwa bugome abatutsi bisanganiwe muri kamere yabo bwo kwica. Kanjogera ibibondo by'abahutu yishe hari icyaha byari byamukoreye ? Ntibitangaje rero abuzukuru be (inyenzi) bakomeje umuco w'ababyeyi babo.

Ntabwo u Rwanda rwari rukwiye guhora muri uwo mukino. Abari ARUSHA, nibatahuke, tubanze turangize intambara. Naho bundi ntiyazapfa irangiye.Turwane dutsinde, cyangwa se dutsindwe (uretse ko bidashoboka), n'imishyikirano igire aho ihera. Na ba «Bagome» (GOMN), basigaye bita abagome, batahe kuko ntacyo bakora.

Ubu se noneho inyenzi zizongera kubeshya ko mu Rwanda nta Demokarasi ihari. Ngo Leta y'u rwanda ntiyubahiriza ikiremwamuntu ? Intambwe twari tumaze gutera muri Demokarasi ntiziyirahiye «Rudahigwa turi i Nyanza»! Amashyaka akorana nazo (MDR, PSD, PL) nayo ntazongere kubeshya rubanda. Twabonye amahoro y'inyenzi ! Ayo mashyaka yabonye ubwayo ko arimo gukina n'umuriro. Azigobotora inkotanyi ate ko nazo ntacyo wazibeshya ? Tubabwira ! Gukorana n'umwanzi ngo ni inda nini ni ukwikora munda. Kubera isoni, ibyitso by'inkotanyi mu Rwanda byirirwa bibeshya ingabo z'u Rwanda ngo birazishyigikiye ! Erega na Perefe wa Butare ! Twamumenyesha ko abana yohereje mu NKotanyi, abenshi basize agatwe mu mirwano yo mu Ruhengeri, bivuganywe n'ingabo z'u Rwanda. Nashaka imibare nyayo azegere Etat-Major y'ingabo z'u Rwanda bazayimuha.

Abatutsi nabo ubu bafite ubwoba. Bo bari bazi ko imishyikirano y'Arusha igiye kubasubiza ku butegetsi kubera abagambanyi nka Nsengiyaremye na bagenzi be, none inkotanyi zibavuyemo !
Awa ! N'impunzi z'abatutsi ntizigitashye nkanswe guhabwa ubutegetsi. Wiringira ijosi rikakubyarira umwingo. Inkotanyi ntizibyeretse abatutsi ? Ubu se abahutu biyemeje guhorera bene wabo baguye mu Ruhengeri no muri Byumba baba bakosheje ? Kandi byakorwa !

KANGURA

IBARUWA IFUNGUYE KURI PEREZIDA WA REPUBULIKA.

Ntibikiri ngombwa ko hagira uwibutsa Perezida Habyarimana ko amaze kubonana inshuro nyinshi na Perezida Museveni, ariko zose nta cyo zamugejejeho gishimishije. Muribuka Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika ko ikinyoma cya mbere "officiel" mwakigejejweho na mugenzi wanyu wa Uganda ubwo mwahuriraga i Butare. Yabapfunyikiye amazi ngo nta mpunzi zizatera ziturutse mu gihugu ayobora. Amarenga yaje kubacira murayibuka: «n'ubwo zatera zigasanga mufite ubumwe ntabwo zabatsinda».

Ku munsi wa mbere wasogongejwe ku kinyoma. No ku wa nyuma muzacurura ikindi, aka wa mugani w'abakurambere ngo "utangiye ijoro arota nabi burinda bucya". Gusa icyo twabasaba muri iki gihe ni ukwirinda ko uwo mugani uba ihame. Ibyo mukabikora mwitwara neza mu mayira abiri agoye igihugu kirimo yo guhosha intambara no guhamya politiki ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi.

Mu byukuri, Perezida Museveni, nta mbabazi, nta mpuhwe abafitiye n'ubwo mwagirana imishyikirano inshuro mirongoirindwi karindwi. Mwe ubwanyu mwivugiye ko umuntu ahitamo inshuti ariko akaba adahitamo umuturanyi. Umuturanyi wanyu rero, yabateye ubwa mbere mu w'1990 ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda bugihari. Ya marenga yabaciriye atanga ingaruka nziza mu minsi ya mbere y'intambara. Umuturanyi wanyu yahise afata indi ngamba yo gusandaza ubwo bumwe.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, ubu mwibonera ubwanyu ko abanyarwanda nta bumwe bagifite. Ibyo ni uruhare rugaragara inyeshyamba Museveni yagize muri iyi ntambara. Yabanje kubumvisha mbere na mbere ko azi uruhande rwanyu rworoshye kugira ngo abace mu rihumye.

Politiki y'ishyaka rimwe dukeka ko hari indwara yabanduje mwaba mutazi cyangwa mutarivuza. Bwana Perezida, byaragaragaye kenshi ko politiki y'ishyaka rimwe, irangwa n'uko uwayihanze ayivugamo ibyo yemera kandi akishyiramo ko n'abandi babyemera nka we. Yego baravuga ngo icyo umuntu ari cyo hagati y'umunyakuri n'umunyakinyoma, ni cyo akekaho abandi kuba cyo! Nyamara akenshi aba yibeshya. Ngizo ingaruka mbi zo gucengeza politiki wihangiye, wemera kandi wizeraho ukuri. Muri politiki y'amashyaka menshi rero birahinduka. Abatemera ibitekerezo bya we bigaragaza nta kibazo noneho ukamenya aho ukuri guhereye. Icyo gihe bya bindi bavuga ngo politiki ni umwuga w'uburyarya n'uburyamirizi bihabwa intebe kuko ari cyo gihe nyacyo umunyapolitiki avuga ibitandukanye n'ibyo yemera. Iyo politiki, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, ni nayo inyeshyamba zikoresha. Hagize ubasaba urugero, ndumva mwahita mumwereka itandukaniro riri hagati y'amasezerano mugirana na Museveni n'ibikorwa abakorera. Mwanamubwira ko iyo nyeshyamba yafashe Kampala mu gihe hakorwaga imishyikirano yo kugarura amahoro muri Uganda. Nyuma mugasoza mumubwira isomo mwakuyemo.

Nimwirinde ibitekerezo bigamije guha igihugu uwigometse kuko n'abandi bashobora kwigomeka, bityo nabo bakabuhabwa, noneho igihugu kigahora muri ayo, kigahora mu mwijima kitazivutsa. Niba akabaraga kagihari nimwongere muhamagarire abanyarwanda gukunda u Rwanda no kubona kimwe ikibazo cy'intambara. Nimubizeze ko politiki y'amashyaka menshi itazakorwa mu nkokora ariko bareke gutiza umwanzi umurindi. Niba ngombwa mubumvishe ko hari uburyo bwinshi bwo guhirika ubutegetsi ubu n'ubu muri demokarasi ariko hatabaye kugambanira igihugu. Ingero zifatika zaragaragaye mu bihugu byinshi by'Afurika. Musabe abo muhanganye gucengeza mu banyarwanda politiki y'u Rwanda rumwe kuko ari byo bizongerera ingabo z'u Rwanda imbaraga zo guhangana n'umwanzi. Nimuhoze ku mutima ko ari mwe mwenyine kugeza ubu Perezida wa Repubulika, guverinoma zose mushyiraho, abanyarwanda bazifata nk'aho ari abafasha banyu mwishyiriraho mu rwego rwo kubafasha imirimo. Nibaramuka babaye abafasha babi, ibyo bazononа muri iki gihugu, amateka ni mwe azabigerekaho.

Mutagize uwo muhutaza, abanyarwanda rubanda rugufi, yo nkeka ko irusha abanyapolitiki gukunda igihugu, irabasaba kugaragaza mu mvugo no mu byemezo ko turi mu ntambara. Diskuru za buri gihe si ngombwa kuko nazo hari igihe zizambya ibintu. Imvugo bifuza ni izisaba buri wese gukora akazi ke, yaba ingabo, umutegetsi cyangwa umunyapolitiki. Ibyo byose mukabikora muzirikana politiki y'amashyaka menshi igomba gushinga imizi. Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, ducurr.bikiye aha tubasaba kumenya hakiri kare aho ibintu bipfira kandi Imana yonyine izabibafashemo.

NYABYENDA Issa
Rédacteur en Chef Adjoint du Journal
KANGURA

GITERA ATI : «UMUGOME NI UWO MUTUTSI UHORA YIKUZA».

«Umuhutu Gitera Joseph. Ikidaterwa ubugabo n'urwagwa, icyateye imfura agahinda. Kigatera abahutu ubwuzu, rubanda rukidagadura» (GITERA Joseph Habyarimana).

Ntabwo yirarira. Ibyo yivugaho ni ukuri, yari kamere ye. Yaratinyukaga kandi igihe cyose akabikora mu kuri. Ibyinshi mu byo yagiye avuga byabaye impanuro, biba ubuhanuzi. Wenda n'ibyo bike bitegereje igihe cyabyo. Nguwo Gitera ukomokaho imvugo igira iti : «aho kwica Gitera wakwica ikibimutera». Mu mugereka wo kunga Abanyarwanda yandikiye Nyakubahwa Général Major Habyarimana Juvénal tariki ya 7 Gicurasi 1976 yabaye nk'umubwira ko ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bugoye kuko igituma umuhutu n'umututsi baryana kidashobora gucika.

Umugereka dufite uri mu rurimi rw'igifaransa ariko aha twifuza kuwushyira mu Kinyarwanda. Perezida Habyarimana ngo yabaye akiwubona agwa mu kantu ku mpamvu z'uko wari kwa kuri gusesuye kandi kuryana mu matwi. Kandi ni mu gihe kuko yamubwiraga ko kunga Abanyarwanda ari

umurimo ugoye ndetse waba udashoboka. Nibwo wa mugereka Perezida Habyarimana yisabiye ubwe Gitera uhise ushyingurwa iyo muri Perezidansi, ba maneko bakwizwa hirya no hino ngo bahige ahantu hose haba haboneka inyandiko zose z'uwo mugereka. Gitera ubwe baramuhungese basanga ari igihangange. Nta bwo ibyo byagezweho kuko muri iki gihe twagiye tubona abazifite, kandi bakemerako bazihawe na Gitera. Bakomeza bavuga ko bari kwemera bagafatanwa iyo nyandiko aho gutwika cyangwa ngo bacagagure ukuri.

Nyabyenda Issa.

UMUGEREKA J. HABYARIMANA YASABYE J.H. GITERA

Joseph H. Gitera
B.P. 99
Butare

Butare tariki ya 7 Mata 1976

Impamvu : Umugereka wo kunga Abanyarwanda. «ubu turashaka bundi bushya kunga abaturarwanda ubwabo. Turemeza rwose ko tutagera ku majyambere n'ubukungu bw'igihugu mu myiryane n'inzangano mu Banyarwanda».

(Manifeste ya MRND, p. 7).

Kuri Nyakubahwa Général Major Habyarimana Juvénal, Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Perezida Fondateri wa MRND.

Nyakubahwa Bwana Perezida,

Nejejwe n'urukundo mwampamagaranye ubwo mwasohokaga mu nzu igenewe abashyitsi ya Kaminuza y'i Butare muti : «Bwana Gitera, muzankorere umugereka wo kunga Abanyarwanda». Ubwo ni ubutumire n'itegeko rya kibyeyi ry'umubyeyi w'igihugu cy'u Rwanda kugira icyo nkora kuri icyo kibazo kinini kandi kigoye, igihugu gifite.

Nshimishijwe, Nyakubahwa Perezida no kwiyunga k'ukuri kwa Manifesti ya MRND yo ishingiye ukuri kwayo n'ukubaho kwayo, k'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda ubwabo kugira ngo batere imbere ikiganza mu kindi bereke za iy'amajyambere, kuko, mu by'ukuri, ni iyihe Muvoma ibumba abaturage b'igihugu ishobora kubaho mu myiryane y'inzangano, mu bitutsi n'agasuzuguro katavugwa bishingiye ku moko ?

Na none, Nyakubahwa Perezida, mpereye ku kibazo cyerekeye kunga abanyarwanda, mwambajije iki kibazo «Abatutsi n'abahutu bapfuye iki, barapfa iki ?» Igisubizo cyanjye cyabaye «twapfuye kandi turapfa ubutegetsi». Ikibazo cyo kubunga uhereye ku cyo bapfa, kirakomeye ndetse cyototera kudashoboka nk'uko aya mateka anononsoye abyerekana. Ishingwa ry'ubwami ntutsi nk'uko tubigezwaho n'umuco nyarwanda w'abakurambere, waba uvugwa cyangwa uwanditse. Dore iyi nshoberamahanga yuje ukuri nyamaswa kandi kwigaragambya. Ni ipfundo risobanura ijambo ku rindi imitegekere n'ubwami ntutsi.

1. Gahunda yateguwe n'umututsi yaratsinze
2. Uburyo bwakoreshejwe
3. Ibyagezweho

«Dore umugani
N'uzava ikamugani
Azasange ubukombe bw'umugani
Buziritse ku muganda w'inzu
Ubusa bwaritseku manga,
Agaca karacuranga
Nyiramusambi asabagirira inanga
Harabaye ntihakabe
Hapfuye imbwa n'imbeba,
Hasigara inka n'ingoma».

Muri izi nteruro nshoberamahanga, Nyakubahwa Perezida, nimukurikirane kandi mwiyumvishe uburyo n'ibyemezo bigoye umututsi yakoresheje mu gutegeka umuhutu n'umutwa.

1. Gahunda yateguwe kandi igatsinda :

«ubusa bwaritse ku manga»
Ubwo busa bwa nyakamwe ntutsi bwaracengeye bushingana imizi inkubiri mu mirambo y'ibikomangoma by'abahutu, aribo abahinza.

2. Uburyo bwakoreshejwe

«Agaca karacuranga»
Nyiramusambi asabagirira inanga»
Nk'agaca mu mishwi itagira kirengera, ni ko abatutsi bagize abahutu, mu gihe umututsikazi «Nyiramusambi» yihatiraga kubasukiranyaho ibihozo bibasinziriza, bibazindaza kugira ngo abatutsi batsinde.

3. Ibyagezweho

«Harabaye ntihakabe
Hapfuye imbwa n'imbeba
Hasigara inka n'ingoma»

Nguko ukuntu abami b'abahutu bapfuye. Birarangira ntibongera kuvugwa. Izo mbwa n'imbeba z'abahutu barapfuye. Hasigaye bene inka na bene ingoma aribo batutsi !

Nyakubahwa Perezida, ahangaha nimucengere kandi mwumve ubugome bwose n'amayeri atyaye ariko ahwekereye by'umututsi wa kera n'uw'ubu bagirira umuhutu.

«Agaca gacuranga» ni ubwicanyi butagira gitangira. Mu gihe «Nyiramusambi asabagirira inanga». Nyine umututsikazi wishyizeho arimo aribyinira.

Uko mbikeka, ibyo biterwa n'ubucucu n'ubugoryi bw'abahutu bidakwiye kubabarirwa.

IHUNGETA N'IHIRIKWA RY'UBUTEGETSI NTUTSI

Mu w'1958, hategekaga umwami Mutara III Rudahigwa, intumwa z'abahutu bari ku isonga rya «Mouvement Social Hutu», nari mfite ikuzo ryo kuyiyobora, twagiye imbere y'umwami n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yari igizwe n'abatutsi gusa usibye abahutu babiri, dusaba uwo mubyeyi wa kanyarwanda, uwo Rudahigwa, umwami wari ushyigikiye ihinduka ry'ibintu na demokarasi, intego ye ikaba «Imbaga y'inyabutatu ijya mbere», tumusaba umugabane wacu dukwiye igihugu kitwemerera, kimwe n'ubwiyunge bw'igihugu hagati y'umututsi n'umutwa.

Mu mugereka w'ubwiyunge twasabaga ko ibinyita by'abakurambere bacu byanaganaga kuri Karinga byerekana ubuhake buteye isoni butazigera bushira, kandi bukaba ugutsinda guhoraho, bimanurwa noneho bigahabwa k'umugaragaro icyubahiro cyo gushyingurwa mu buryo bwiyubashye.

Rudahigwa n'abari bamukikije babaye nk'abikanga, bahita barakara. Niko kutubwira : «nta kibazo kiri hagati y'umuhutu n'umututsi mu Rwanda kuko nta buvandimwe buri hagati y'umuhutu n'umututsi mu Rwanda, ntacyoduhuriyeho uretse kubategeka no kubahaka». Ubwo Rudahigwa aba ashimangiye ya nshoberamahanga :
«Harabaye ntihakabe
Hapfuye imbwa n'imbeba
Hasigara inka n'ingoma»
Rudahigwa amaze gutanga, Kigeri V n'abantu be bashatse kurangiza icyo kibazo gikomeye kandi bidashoboka. Kunga «Sakabaka na Rusake». Bahise bashinga agatsiko k'abarunari kaje kubyara Revolisiyo yamennye amaraso hagati y'1959—1960.

ABAHUTU BAFATA UBUTEGETSI

Abahutu babaye maso, bashyira hamwe birinda kuba ibikoresho, barwana inkundura. Ukwikengera kwabo, imbaraga zabo n'ubumwe bwabo nibyo byabaviriyemo ugutsinda kudasubirwaho: hatangajwe Repubulika y'u Rwanda tariki ya 28 Mutarama 1961, ubu ikaba ishinze imizi, iyobowe na Nyakubahwa Generali Major Juvénal Habyarimana. Ahangaha rero, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, nimwibonere ibibazo bibiri binini kandi by'ingutu ubutegetsi bufite: umututsi hejuru y'umuhutu mu gihe cy'imyaka magana ane, n'umuhutu hejuru y'umututsi mu gihe cy'imyaka 15 (1961—1976). Bakaba kandi bagomba kungwa !!!

UBWIYUNGE

Gusaba imbabazi bisobanura kwihohora no gusabana imbabazi, byo kimenyetso cy'ubuvandimwe n'igihango kidatatirwa ubuziraherezo. Abatutsi Mutara III Rudahigwa na Kigeri V Ndahindurwa n'abandi, ntabwo bashoboye kunga abatutsi n'abahutu, kuko batashoboye kwambura abatutsi ibyo banyaze abahutu ngo babibasubize.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wacu muri Repubulika y'u Rwanda, umunyarwanda w'umuhutu nk'uko bivugwa, ashobora kunga Abanyarwanda atanga ubutegetsi bw'igihugu abahutu bafite hakurikijwe demokarasi izira igitotsi n'amakemwa ? Nyakubahwa Perezida, aha hari ikibazo kitifuza gukemurwa.

UMUGEREKA W'UBWIYUNGE BW'ABANYARWANDA UBWABO

Ubwiyunge buzakorwa na nde ? Namwe, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Perezida Fondateri wa MRND kurusha Mutara III Rudahigwa n'Inama ye y'igihugu kuko nta bumenyi buhagije bari bafite kuri icyo kibazo. Kigeri V n'abantu be nabo muzabarusha kuko icyo kibazo bashatse kugikemuza kumena amaraso. Na Kayibanda muzamurusha kuko Parmehutu yavanguye amoko n'uturere.

Mu kurusha abo bose, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, mufite amahirwe n'inshingano yo kunga Abanyarwanda ubwabo, bitabaye ibyo, Manifeste programe na stati za MRND zagaragara nk'aho ari amagambo meza gusa.

Icyo kibazo kihutirwa kandi gikomeye cyane kizakemurwa gite ?

«Sagamba ! Sagamba ! Sagamba !
Hari umusizi w'umunyarwanda, ufite indirimbo nziza «Sagamba» dutega amatwi twishimye kuri Radiyo Rwanda, cyane cyane mu bice bikurikira :
«Sagamba urandura ibisigisigi
By'amatiku n'amatiriganya mu Rwanda,
Sagamba ushyigikiwe n'urugamba,
Uwica umugambi si Umunyarwanda».
Uwo musizi w'umunyarwanda aratanga impinategeko ishimishije y'umugereka wo kunga igihugu.
Ariko cyane cyane, dutege amatwi uyu musizi wa kera w'ibakwe mu mvugo ishikamye kandi yerekeza k'umutima wa Général Major Perezida wa Republika, Perezida wa MRND:

«Sugira Sagamba,
Hunga ubugeri,
Umugome ari k'umugozi
Umugomoke ari ku ngoma !»
Zirimo Nyamukurura,
Mukuru w'Ingoma,
Kurura wishyira,
Wange amadumbu».

Nyakubahwa Général Major, iki gisigo cyamamaye hose mu izina ryacyo «Sugira, Sagamba» kikaba icy'umusizi wo hambere, imikarago yacyo yuje inyigisho ntinyutse kuyigira iyanjye kugira ngo nyiture umutima wanyu na roho yanyu, nyiture abafasha banyu ba hafi, bahangayikishijwe kimwe namwe n'icyazana amahoro, ubumwe, uburinganire n'ubuvandimwe bw'Abanyarwanda bunzwe.

Yego Nyakubahwa,
«Sugira, Sagamba, Hunda ubugeri».

I. Sugira, «ba isugi, Musumba bose»
Uzabe uwa mbere n'igitego mu bana b'u Rwanda bashoboye guha u Rwanda amahoro kuva rwabaho, rukabona ubumwe n'ubuvandimwe mu bwiyunge bw'igihugu no mu muvuduko rusange w'amajyambere.
«Bashokane isibo mu majyambere»
Yego, Sugira, «ba isugi Mubyara Rwanda».
Uzabe igitego n'umubyeyi wa mbere w'igihugu cy'u Rwanda rusukuye, rufite ingufu kubera ko rwunze ubumwe : Rwanda nshya.
Pfukama ubyare umunyarwanda mushya, Nyakubahwa ! Yego, Sugira, «ube unoze kandi utavanze».

2. Sagamba, ba icyamamare cy'ubukombe.

3. Hunda ubugeri :

Kamere yanyu Nyakubahwa, izakangure kandi ibere Rwanda nziza; ibikorwa byabyu mwatangiye bizahurizwa mu murima mwiza kandi mugari weze amajeri menshi. «Uhunze ubugeri» : Umunyarwanda mushya ufite itoto agatera irari.

Bizagenda bite ? Hazakoreshwa ubuhe buryo ?

«Umugome ari k'umugozi»
Umugomoke ari ku ngoma. Nta bundi buryo. Yego, Nyakubahwa, abagome n'abagomoke k'urugamba rumwe, bose bambaye bimwe bakagira n'intwaro zimwe, ni he haturuka ugutsinda ?

Cyangwa na none nyuma y'ugutsinda kuruhije, abatsinze n'abatsinzwe bagahurira ku meza amwe, ariko abo batsinzwe bafite inzika, ugutsinda kwaba kuvuze iki ?

Yego, Nyakubahwa, Mwebwe n'u Rwanda mushaka guha indi sura, ntimushobora «gusugira, gusagamba, guhunda ubugeri, umugome atari k'umugozi, umugomoke atari ku ngoma». Ntabwo bishoboka !

1. Umugome ni nde ?
2. Umugomoke ni nde ?
3. Umugome ari k'umugozi ate ?
4. Umugomoke ari ku ngoma ate ?

I. Umugome ni nde ?

Ni uwo mututsi uhora yikuza, ufatanya n'umugaragu we w'umuhutu kimwe n'umutwa w'umuhigi bahunganye kubera ubugome bwabo none bakaba badahwema kugomera igihugu n'Abanyarwanda. Na none kandi ni uwo mututsi w'umunyenzika n'uwo muhutu w'inkomamashyi n'uwo mutwa uhorera gutegekwa, bose bazinze mayora nk'inzoka yitegura kurya u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda bari mu icuraburindi. Ibi bice by'abatutsi uko ari bibiri byohererezanya amakuru buri gihe kandi bikorana k'uburyo bw'ibanga, mu rwego rwo kwihorera kuri Repubulika, ngo abayishinze n'abayifite banze umwami.

Ni iyo nzoka y'igihindugembe ifite imitwe ibiri, umwe inyuma y'u Rwanda undi imbere. Nguwo umugome. Ukubaho kwe ntabwo gukwiye guhakanwa kuriho rwose.

2. Umugomoke ni nde ?

Ni uwo Munyarwanda warangije kubona inzira ye mu byishimo kandi ubuzi herezo. Ashyigikiye Repubulika 100%. Ni Militant wa MRND abikuye kuri roho no k'umutima. Ni Umunyarwanda mushya ufite roho yahanaguweho kumva igomba gusuzugurika mu buhake. Ategereje cyane Itegeko-nshinga rizamugenga muri Repubulika ya II. Nguwo umugomoke.

3. Umugome ari k'umugozi ate ?

Byaba ari umwanda, ubunyamaswa ndetse byaba bidakwiye ubugiraneza bwa Repubulika yacu, ubw'abaperezida iyo, ababungirije, baharanira bose amahoro n'ubumwe turamutse tugaruye ubugome ntutsi : kwica, gutemagura, kumanika ibinyita by'abo bagome mu rwego rwo kugaragaza ugutsinda.

Uko mbikeka, umugome naramuka agaragaye azahanwa by'intangarugero n'amategeko y'itegeko-nshinga, avumwe, yamburwe ubwenegihugu. Yaba hanze cyangwa mu gihugu, umugome ntakongere kubona Repubulika y'u Rwanda n'abayo, ntazongere na rimwe kuba Umunyarwanda. Nta kabe mu Banyarwwanda afitiye umujinya wo kuzica. Umutungo we uzaba umutungo w'igihugu.

Umugomoke ari ku ngoma ate ?

Kuri uwo munyarwanda mushya wishimye, amahoro, ubumwe, ubuvandimwe n'uburinganire bwa kivandimwe. Umututsi wikuza, w'amayeri yihariye nta wuhari : ubwicanyi, ruswa, amayeri, ibinyoma.
Wa mutwa w'imbwa y'impigi, wica uko shebuja w'umututsi abimutegetse nta kiriho.
Nta kiriho, wa muhutu w'umugaragu uteye agahinda, utunzwe gusa n'imiranga ya shebuja w'umututsi.
Hehe n'abo bose kuko ubu ari Abanyarwanda bashya, bashyigikiye Repubulika bakaba n'aba milita ba MRND. Bose bafatanyije mu gushinga Rwanda nshya. None rero, umugomoke nahabwe u Rwanda n'ibyiza byarwo, n'inema zarwo, n'ubwiza bwarwo mu mahoro, mu bumwe no mu majyambere (...)

Joseph Gitera Habyarimana.
(sé)

NDLR : Ibyo tutabagejejeho ni inama Gitera agira Perezida Habyarimana, izo nama ziri mu ngingo eshatu :
— Gukurura wishyira
— Gusenya amarumba
— Kwanga amadumbu
Izo nama Habyarimana Juvénal yaba yarazikurikije ?

Abifuza inyandiko ya Gitera mu rurimi rw'igifaransa, bashobora kuyisanga muri Kangura N°6 pp. 12, 13, 14, 15. Hagati aho ngaho turashimira umudepite waduhaye iyo nyandiko mu kwezi k'Ugushyingo 1990, akimara kubona ko iryo gitera yavuze ritashye. Tubitekerezeho !

N.I.

GOMN, UMUTWE W'ABASIRIKARI USHINZWE KUNEKERA INKOTANYI.

Abanyakigali cyangwa se abahagenda mukunze kubona imodoka zitagira «plaques» zizenguruka umugi. Zikunze kuba zanditseho amagambo ahinnye haba mu rurimi rw'igifaransa cyangwa se mu cyongereza. Amagambo yanditse kuri izo modoka z'amavatiri, amajipe, minibisi, ndetse no kuri Benz imwe, ni GOMN, NMOG, OUA cyangwa se OAU.
Abazigendamo ni abasirikari bose bambaye ingofero z'umweru zifite ikiranga ntego cy'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA). Hafi y'abo basirikari bose ni ba ofisiye. Kubatandukanya biragoye kuko bose ari abirabura, nta muzungu ubarimo. Abazungu b'abasirikari mukunze kubona ni abafaransa baje kurengera bene wabo bari ino. Ntimuzabitiranye rero.
Kumenya ko abo basirikari bo muri GOMN baturuka mu bihugu binyuranye, keretse ushishoje neza ku ntugu zabo kuko uhasanga amabendera y'ibihugu baturukamo. Uzabona abaturaka muri Nijeriya, Senegali, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, ndetse n'inkotanyi izi za... vrais !

GOMN mu rurimi rw'igifaransa bivuga «Groupe d'Observateurs Militaires Neutres». Mu cyongereza rero ayo magambo ahinduka NMOG aribyo kuvuga mu magambo arambuye, «Neutral Military Observers Group». Tugenekereje mu kinyarwanda, twavuga ko bisobanura «umutwe w'abasirikari badafite aho babogamiye». Bayobowe n'«ikinani» gikomoka muri Nijeriya. Nacyo gifite ipeti rya Général-Major. Uwo ni uwitwa Ekundayo Opaleye. Ntumbaze icyo iryo zina risobanura. Ntitwanavuga ko se yamwise nabi dore ko ako kazina ntaho kamwaye n'ubwo bwose tutazi icyo gasobanura.

Bene iyo «mitwe y'abasirikari badafite aho babogamiye», turayimenyereye kuva aho intambara itangiriye mu Kwakira 1990. Uriya mutwe wa Général-Major Ekundayo Opaleye ni uwa gatatu uje mu gihugu cyacu kugenzura imirwano. Inshingano za bariya basirikari ni ukujya ku rugamba bakareba abashotora abandi, bagatanga raporo mu muryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika dore ko ari wo wanabohereje. Ntabwo rero bashinzwe guhagarika imirwano. Impamvu zirumvikana. Ni bake cyane, kandi ni abasirikari bakuru kuburyo atari bo bafata imbunda ngo bajye mu myobo ! Ibyo guhagarika imirwano bituruka ku bushake bw'abashyamiranye.

Gusa aba «gome» bari mu gihugu cyacu ari n'abahavuye, baranzwe cyane no kubogama. Babogamira ku Nkotanyi ndetse bakanazinekera. Bazibwira ibirindiro by'ingabo z'u Rwanda aho biri, abasirikari u Rwanda rufite, intwaro n'ibindi byinshi by'amabanga ya gisirikari. Ku buryo inkotanyi iyo ziteye ziba zifite ibya ngombwa byose kugirango ibitero zigabye bize ari simusiga. Twababwiye ko uriya mutwe uri mu Rwanda ari uwa gatatu witwa ko utagira aho ubagamiye. Umutwe wabanje ino wari ugizwe n'abasirikari baturutse mu bihugu duhana imbibi bifite aho bihuriye n'iyi ntambara : harimo abasirikari b'abazayiruwa, abagande n'abanyarwanda. Uwo mutwe wari uyobowe n'umunyatanzaniya, Hachim Mbita, ufite ipeti rya Général. Uwo musirikari mukuru akaba akora muri OUA, aho ashinzwe guhosha intambara muri Afurika.
Ntacyo dupfa n'uwo muvandimwe, ariko tubamenyesheje ko nta ntambara n'imwe yari yahosha, ntiyaturenganya ! N'iyo mu Rwanda yamunaniye ityo. Azize kubogama. Kandi ga ni no kumurenganya. Na-



we se umuntu wiganye na Museveni i Dar-Es-Salaam, yari kumuhemukira ? Bikubitiyeho n'uko icyo gihe Hachim Mbita yari mu Rwanda, Yoweri Museveni niwe wari Perezida (chairman) wa OUA. Mwibuke kandi ko umwera uturutse ibukuru bucya wakwiriye hose.

Indi mpamvu uwo mutwe wa Hachim Mbita wasabwe guhambira utwawo ntacyo ugezeho ni uko wari ugizwe n'abantu umuntu atakwizera. Nubwo bwose ku mugaragaro nta «nkotanyi» yari iwurimo, nta wari kuwushira amakenga. Kandi ni mu gihe.

Wafata inyeshyamba zo muri NRA, abatutsi b'i Burundi, ugakubita aho ngo nibagenzure imirwano ! Icyo bakoze ni ukunekera inkotanyi babibwira uko ingabo z'u Rwanda zihagaze. Ku buryo igihe uwo mutwe wari ino, ibitero by'inkotanyi byarushijeho gukaza umurego. None se si mu gihe ! Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yabaza Général Mbita iby'ubwo butasi akarya iminwa kuko yabaga abizi.

Uwo mutwe wa Mbita umaze gusezererwa, habaye ikibazo cyo gushaka undi wawusimbura. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda isaba ko bayikiza inzoka z'abarundi, n'inyeshyamba za Museveni. Hagasigara abazayiruwa bari berekanye ko bakora akazi kabo neza badahishira inkotanyi. Bakongeraho n'abanyatanzaniya kuko, naba nabo, bapfa gucisha mu gaciro. Inkotanyi zibibonye gutyo ziragarama zisabota uwo mutwe ku buryo utashoboye gukora. Biba ngombwa ko nawo useswa.

Hashyirwaho umutwe wa gatatu ariwo uriho ubu. Abanyarwanda bari bawufitiye ikizere dore ko ugizwe n'abantu utakeka ko bazi amatiku ari hagati y'abahutu n'inyenzi z'abatutsi. Twari twizeye ko bazakora akazi kabo ntaho babogamiye dore ko baturuka mu bihugu bya kure. Nyamara rero siko bimeze. Ibizungerezi by'abatutsikazi byarangije kubifatira. Dore ko nabyo binukirwa n'amakashi. Kandi ku ba «gome», amakashi si cyo kibazo. Hari abasigaye babateraho urwenya ngo bashinzwe «kugenzura» ibizungerezi, iby'imirwano ntacyo bibabwiye. Hari n'abemeza ko ahubwo ab'inkwakuzi muri abo basirikari barangije kwibaruka utwana. Ku buryo mu myaka iri imbere, ni mwumva abasore bitwa ba «Ekundayo, Diakite, Ndiaye, n'abandi nka Nkomo, Mugabe...» ntibizabatangaze. Ntawe ubujije abo basirikari kwishimisha cyangwa se gukunda «bashiki» bacu. Barisanga wenda bazanavamo n'«abakwe» beza. Ariko ikibazo ni uko ibyo bizungerezi bibakuramo amabanga ya gisirikari byoherereza inkotanyi. Dore ko noneho uwo mutwe harimo n'inkotanyi z'umwimerere ziyobowe n'uwitwa Karenzi Karake. Akazi k'izo nyenzi murakumva ni ukwirirwa zinekera zene wazo. Umpakanya azambwire niba ibitero byo mu Ruhengeri na Byumba GOMN itari ibizi. Ikimenyimenyi ni abanyeshuri b'ibyitso biga muri Kaminuza i Nyakinama abo «bagome» babwiye ngo be gusubirana n'abandi mu Ruhengeri igihe bazaga mu marushanwa ya Volley Ball i Kigali. Abandi bana ntibisigariye i Kigali mu gihe bagenzi babo batemaga ijoro basubiye kuri «campus», batazi ko urusasu rurara ruduhira !

KANGURA.

HABYARIMANA YABA ABITEKEREZAHO IKI ?

Perezida Mobutu wa Zayire aherutse gutangaza ko iyo abantu badakomeza gushinga ubutegetsi bwe ibikwasi aba yareguye kera. Ibyo ni amatakirangoyi kuko kuva mu 1965 yategetse wenyine ntawe umuvugiramo, ntawe umurwanya ku buryo bugaragara. Ejo bundi nibwo hadutse inkubi ya demokarasi ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi maze abaturage basa n'abahumutse babitewemo inkunga n'amahanga. Bahise rero batinyuka kwereka Mobutu ko bamaze kumurambirwa, ko bamagana imikorere mibi ya za Leta ze zose zazahaje ubukungu bw'igihugu n'imibereho myiza y'abazayirwa muri rusange.

Iwacu mu Rwanda ho se bimeze bite ? Hari abavuga ko Habyarimana yakoze ikosa ryo kudatanga imyanya mbere y'iyi ntambara na mbere y'ishyirwaho ry'amashyaka menshi. Ngo nko muri disikuru ye yo kuwa 5/7/1990 aba yaragejeje icyo cyemezo cya kigabo ku banyarwanda. We rero yakomeje gutsimbarara ku butegetsi yibwira ahari ko ibya kera aribyo by'ubu. Yongeye kubizambya yitoresha kuyobora ishyaka MRND ndetse agahita aniyamamariza ubuperezida kandi igihe cyabyo kitaragera. Yibwiye ahari ko agikunzwe cyangwa agitinywe nka mbere na bose kandi ibintu byarahindutse.

Niba se atareguye icyo gihe ni